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No. 10

THE WAR CRIMINALS

AN EDITORIAL

Why Are the People of England Being Sent to Their Death?

EDGAR FIELDING

The Bankruptcy of Imperialist Poland

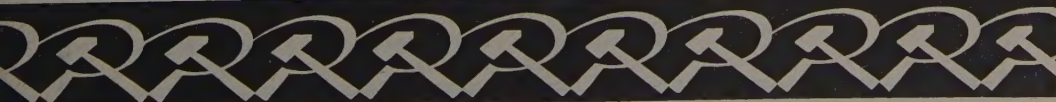
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Fight the War Criminals in Berlin as Well as London and Paris

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An Open Letter to Leon Blum

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The War Criminals

THE imperialist war incendiaries in Germany and England, in France and Poland, have repeated and surpassed the monstrous crime of 1914. They have unleashed an imperialist war which is threatening the peoples of Europe with destruction and annihilation. Millions of people not only at the fronts but also in the cities and villages, at the work benches and in the homes, are daily and hourly exposed to death because a gang of capitalist criminals still continue to decide the fate of peoples.

While all the capitalist governments were mouthing peace phrases, they systematically provoked war; while they promised peace to the people a hundred times over, they were engaged a thousand times in destroying all guarantees for peace. With unparalleled cynicism they have deceived and lied to the peoples, and in the name of peace have plotted the most horrible of all wars. The German fascists had convoked the "Congress of Peace" for September 1; they called it off and placed the European war on the order of business. After the conspiracy of Munich, after the prearranged dismemberment and destruction of Czechoslovakia, Hitler and Chamberlain appeared before the peoples and told them that now peace had been assured for a generation. After every new assault upon peace, after every new piece of knavery leading to a new war, the war provocateurs let themselves be hailed and photographed as angels of peace; after paralyzing the League of Nations at the expense of Ethiopia; after the surrender and annexation of Austria, after the betrayal of Czechoslovakia, after strangling the Spanish struggle for freedom—the hangmen of peace each time appeared as its saviors. They had "saved"

peace for so long that they succeeded in driving the peoples into the most criminal of all wars, into a war which the German war incendiaries themselves declare will be a question of "to be or not to be," a war which, on their own admission, the English war incendiaries expect to last three years. This therefore is the "peace for our time," which the conspirators of Munich guaranteed to the peoples!

The peoples suspect the unparalleled deception which was perpetrated on them without completely seeing through it. Silently, with sullen faces, and obvious reluctance, they go into the war, into which the capitalist governments are dragging them. The war provocateurs have not succeeded in producing a chauvinist mass intoxication, a patriotic frenzy as in 1914. At that time the soldiers of all belligerent countries believed that it was a just war into which they were being sent; today they are seriously questioning it. Marching towards death with heavy hearts and sad thoughts, they are asking themselves a million times over: "Was this war really unavoidable? Was it really impossible to save peace? Why must we wage war? What are we dying for?" The official war propaganda in Germany, England and France is still able to drown out these doubts and to cover up the unspeakable crime of the capitalist countries, but the peoples will answer the question as to who is responsible for the war and will call the bloody deceivers to account much faster and more thoroughly than in 1914.

Millions experienced the war of 1914. They will recall that at that time they were also told that it was not a matter of conquests, not a matter of subjugating foreign nations, but solely a matter of

protecting the homeland, of freedom and honor, democracy and justice. They will recall that the German imperialists, after the victory in the East, annexed the countries up to the Black Sea and suppressed the peoples with blood and iron. They will recall that the English and French imperialists, after their victory in the West, forced a dictated peace on the German people and were far from putting into practice the ideals of self-determination, democracy and justice which they were constantly proclaiming. They will recall that all the belligerent imperialists united their forces against the great people which dared really to free itself; that German, English and French imperialists attacked the young Soviet state in order to prevent by force of arms the revolutionary self-determination of the toilers, the workers and peasants. They could convince themselves at that time that all the fine words about homeland and freedom, democracy and justice on the lips of the imperialist hypocrites only meant surrounding the bloody business of a gang of capitalist criminals with a halo of lies and deception. They will convince themselves that today also the fine words on the lips of the German, English and French imperialists have the same meaning that they had in 1914. And they will come out of this war with the iron determination once and for all, and irrevocably, to put an end to the activities of *all* war criminals.

In order to understand the character of this war, the workers and all toilers must keep in mind that the war is a *continuation of politics by other means*.

This war is the continuation of the imperialist politics of the "victor powers" of Versailles as well as of those capitalist states which, in the division of the world, came out worst. The imperialist group of powers comprising England, France and the U.S.A., took possession of the greatest riches of the capitalist world; the group of imperialist powers comprising Germany, Italy and Japan, had to be satisfied with what was left over of the loot. Germany was not only robbed of its colonies but also of German

areas and was treated as the scapegoat of imperialism. While the rich imperialist states were determined to defend their heavy loot tooth and nail, other imperialist states were no less determined to "correct their lot" by every means of threat and force and to compel redistribution of colonies, sources of war materials and spheres of influence.

The only obstacle before all the imperialists was the existence and the consistent peace policy of the socialist Soviet Union and fear of the revolutionary consequences of a new world war. The imperialists therefore tried to come to an understanding at the expense of the Soviet Union, and together to destroy socialism, victorious on one-sixth of the world. Only after this attempt, as well as the attempt of the English imperialists to provoke a war between Germany and the Soviet Union, had failed, the imperialist robbers attacked one another in order to safeguard their own loot and to seize the others' loot.

This war is being waged by all the imperialist powers exclusively to determine which group of imperialist powers shall control the most lucrative sources of profit, in which it is entirely of secondary importance as to who is the military "aggressor" and who the "defender." They all attack the one who contests their right to the loot, they all defend their loot, their "sacred right" to oppress and plunder foreign nations. They are all robbers who can claim for themselves no other right than that of naked force.

Thus it is the politics of *all* imperialists which is being continued in this war.

What particularly are the politics that *German imperialism* is continuing by means of this war?

By means of this war, German imperialism is continuing the policy of the conquest of foreign countries, of subjugating foreign peoples.

At every stage of development, the policy of the German imperialists in practice gave the lie to their words. German Nazism described its goal as wanting to restore the honor of the German people, the equal status of Germany. But

in reality, it brought down upon the German people the disgrace of concentration camps, of mass murders, of butchery of Jews, of barbarism. It described its goal as wanting to rectify the injustice of Versailles and thereby guaranteeing peace in Europe. But, in reality, it made armed attacks on countries which never belonged to Germany; it subjugated foreign nations like the Austrians and the Czechs; it sent its warships, its airplanes, its cannon to Spain in order to participate in the subjugation of a nation whose interests never crossed those of the German people. German Nazism is concerned neither with the honor of the German people nor the protection of German borders, nor with the rectification of Versailles, nor with any kind of "ideological" missions; it is concerned solely with conquering foreign countries, subjugating foreign peoples, building up by robbery a world empire for the German capitalists, and procuring gigantic super profits for them. The German people are being driven to slaughter, not for Danzig and not for Germany, but for the greedy desires of the German capitalists to exploit and plunder not only the German workers and toilers, but also the workers and toilers of other countries and continents.

What is the policy that *English imperialism* is continuing by means of this war?

The English imperialists today hypocritically claim that they are concerned with the freedom of the German people, with the overthrow of the Nazi regime in Germany. But in reality, they have deprived the German people of their freedom, of their right to self-determination by means of the dictated peace of Versailles. They "rounded out" their world empire with German colonies. In reality, however, they have supported German Nazism in every way. They have cooperated most closely with the agents of the Gestapo for the purpose of damaging the Soviet Union, and "preparing it to be stormed."

In reality, they paralyzed the League of Nations for the benefit of the fascist aggressors, and stubbornly attempted to

erect a "four-power bloc" on the ruins of collective security, to unite the imperialist states of Europe in a front against the Soviet Union. In reality, despite solemn guarantees of its independence, they turned over Austria to German imperialism. In reality, they brought about the victory of the fascist invaders in Spain by means of their policy of "non-intervention" and by directly aiding and abetting them. In reality, they crowned their systematic sapping of the wall of peace that the Soviet Union sought to erect together with France and Czechoslovakia with the monstrous betrayal of Munich and threw the Czechoslovak republic into the maw of German imperialism. In reality, they used every means to prevent the establishment of a European peace front, and up to the last moment attempted to come to an understanding with Germany against the Soviet Union.

What was the meaning of this policy which was undeniably following a consistent goal?

The experienced English imperialists are no harmless children who indulged in the lovely dream that German imperialism could be weakened by being strengthened, that an aggressor could be educated to peace by granting him ever new aggressions, by encouraging him to ever new aggressions. Chamberlain is no hard-of-hearing and good-natured old uncle who believed the Nazis each time they said that all their claims had now been satisfied, who nurtured German imperialism out of sheer humanity, helped it out of all difficulties from sheer humanity, from sheer humanity handed it Austrian ore, Czech coal mines and munition plants, and thereby enabled it to begin a big war. The English imperialists and their brave Chamberlain have not constructed their policy on innocence and naivete. They didn't just discover that German fascism is a barbarous and unscrupulous power. They have known all along that it was always possible to overthrow it without war, that, for example, a failure of its plans against Czechoslovakia would have shaken it to its very foundations, that it would never

have been able to enter into a war against a European peace front which the Soviet Union was striving to erect. If, despite this, they staked everything to strengthen the German rulers, to help them get easy loot, to extend their power and to frustrate the establishment of the peace front for which the Soviet Union was striving, this happened not in the naive hope of thereby saving peace, but with the firm intention of thereby bringing about war.

The policy of the English imperialists was a policy of *systematic war provocation*. They *wanted* war, they were *driving* towards war—to be sure, not to that war which they are waging today, but to the war of Germany against the Soviet Union. They nurtured German fascism in order to use it as a mercenary against “bolshevism,” against the Soviet Union. They handed Austria and Czechoslovakia to it in order to give it the economic and strategic possibility of marching against the Soviet Union. They made it promise to prove itself “worthy” of the gifts, and after pocketing the purchase price, agreed upon in Berchtesgaden, Godesberg and Munich, to strike immediately against the land of socialism. They bitterly reproached it when, after the occupation of Czechoslovakia, it hesitated to attack the Soviet Union, when it declared that it did not have sufficient strength for *this* war. And they opened war against it at the moment when it signed the non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union and thereby made it unequivocally clear that it was not in a position to carry out the English war plan.

If today Chamberlain is zealously clamoring for the overthrow of the German government which does not keep its promise, it is only *one* “broken promise” which he considers as a cause for war—the breaking of the promise to march against the Soviet Union. Oh, these imperialists reeking with morality! When Chamberlain shook the hand of the Nazi Fuehrer in Godesberg and Munich, didn't he know at that time how many solemn promises the German fascists had already broken? At least he knew it as well

as every other person in Europe—but he took the fulfillment of *one* promise for granted because he was convinced that to attack the land of socialism corresponded to the innermost nature of German Nazism. In his undying hatred for the Soviet Union, Chamberlain took mighty seriously the anti-Bolshevik declamations of the Goebbels and Rosenbergs. He overestimated the fascist “ideology” and underestimated the calculations of German imperialism, and became the deceived deceiver. And thus, the war which English imperialism provoked broke out not as a war of Germany against the Soviet Union but as a war between Germany and England.

What is the policy that *French imperialism* is continuing by means of this war?

The French bourgeoisie has more and more been taken in tow by the British imperialists. But it has transformed France into an auxiliary power of English imperialism not by “accident,” but by pursuing its own reactionary policy. The French imperialists are fully responsible for the dictated peace of Versailles which sowed the dragons' teeth of new wars over Europe. Up to the seizure of power by German fascism, the French imperialists were at the head of all war provocations against the Soviet Union. By means of their tacit support of Italian fascism in its robber war against Ethiopia, they brought about the actual destruction of the League of Nations. By their policy of “non-intervention,” by the conspiracy against the Spanish People's Front they delivered up Spain to the fascist invaders and thereby aided and abetted fascist aggression in all Europe. They disgracefully betrayed the surest ally of France, Czechoslovakia, and at Munich joined the English imperialists in attempting to encourage Germany to attack the Soviet Union, despite the mutual assistance pact between France and the Soviet Union in case of unprovoked attacks. After Munich, they declared clearly and unmistakably that France was entirely disinterested in Eastern Europe, that it represented solely the interests of its own empire (and hence not the inter-

ests of peace). The French government, as it proclaimed by its demonstrative disregard of the visit of the Polish foreign minister in France and by its entire policy, was always ready to give the German fascists a free hand in the East in order to turn the aggression of German fascism towards the land of socialism. The French imperialists also did not want to secure peace, but to provoke war between Germany and the Soviet Union. The French people must now pay with the most gigantic and bloodiest of all wars for this policy of the 200 families, of the Daladier-Bonnet government which has proved to be a boomerang to its originators.

What is the policy that *Polish imperialism* continued in this war?

The corrupt and ignominious Polish landowners and speculators who used their fascist regime to oppress and plunder not only the Polish toilers, but also millions of Byelo-Russians, Ukrainians and Germans, were always willing and mercenary tools in the hands of English, French and German imperialism. They have always sold out the interests of their country and people to the highest bidder. By means of the dictated Peace of Versailles, they seized large non-Polish areas. At the command of the French and English imperialists, they waged a robber war against the Soviet power in 1920 and appropriated Ukrainian and Byelo-Russian territory. They participated in the robber war of German fascism against Czechoslovakia and avidly seized a part of the loot. In agreement with the English imperialists, they torpedoed the peace front which the Soviet Union was striving to achieve, and criminally rejected the protection which only the Soviet power could offer the independence of the Polish people. By unbridled chauvinist incitement against the German people, by boastfully announcing that it would conquer East Prussia and other German districts, it gave the war a chauvinist, imperialist character. The dispirited and traitorous *Pans* have senselessly sacrificed hundreds of thousands of soldiers, not for the purpose of defending the freedom and independence of the

Polish people against German imperialism but in the interests of the English imperialists; they have beaten not the opponent but their own people. The Poland of the *Pans*, the Polish state, rotten through and through, was only a pawn in the bloody game of English imperialism and, in two weeks, collapsed like a house of cards.

In all the belligerent capitalist states, only a policy of reaction, of war provocation, of imperialism, is being continued by means of this war. This war is being waged by all belligerent states as an *unjust, as an imperialist war*.

Through all the haze of lies, through all the phrases about "honor, freedom, democracy," and so forth, the *real war aims* may already be recognized. This war is for the sake of completely subjugating Germany or conversely England and France, for the destruction of one of the two belligerent parties. The German imperialists have openly said that what is at stake is "to be or not to be," the destruction of England or of Germany. The English imperialists are a few shades less frank about it. Nevertheless, everyone understands the meaning of the words: "It is not a question of a few acres of Polish soil . . . France and England will fight to the last. they will stick together as in the World War." (*Star*, Sept. 9.)

It is entirely in line with this, when Chamberlain repeatedly assures us that his war aim is the overthrow of the Hitler government and its replacement by another government that will not "break its promise" to England, that is, which is ready to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for England and take its place in the front against the Soviet Union. It is exceedingly revealing that the English radio and the English Reuter Agency disseminated a proclamation by the recently deceased chairman of the Executive Committee of the German Social-Democratic Party, Wels. This proclamation states: "A peace . . . which will put an end to all totalitarian systems and dictatorships . . . that is the goal of our policy." (*Daily Herald*, May 9.) The destruction of "all" dictatorships, hence also and first of all

the destruction of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union, the destruction of the Soviet government, that is the war aim which the English imperialists proclaim, taking care not to do it themselves, but through the lips of Mr. Wels. The systematic incitement of the English imperialists against the Soviet Union, the hostile acts against the land of socialism, emphasize the frank avowals of the gentlemen from the so-called "Executive Committee" of the German Social-Democratic Party who undoubtedly calculate on figuring in a future German government by the grace of England. Such a government which, after the serious blood-letting of German imperialism, would from the very beginning be a tool in the hands of the English imperialists, incapable of opposing the English protector and filled with proved hatred for the Revolution, for socialism, would undoubtedly prove to be tractable to Chamberlain's plans. The English imperialist dream of eliminating the rulers in Germany who "do not keep their promise," but without a people's revolution, without the armed uprising of the German masses; on the contrary, they want to prevent this people's revolution by a palace revolution of the German bourgeoisie and to install a "reliable" protectorate government of "solid" reaction which suppresses the revolutionary movement just in time and sees its main task in making out of Germany a bulwark against Bolshevism, against socialism. To force the German people to serve as cannon fodder for decayed capitalism in general and English imperialism in particular, against the Soviet Union, against socialism—that, in plain words, is the war aim of English imperialism.

Although the French bourgeoisie finds itself in the tow of English imperialism, it also follows its own war aims which some of its exponents formulated quite clearly just before the outbreak of the war. The extreme chauvinist circles of the French bourgeoisie, who had been lying in wait for the opportunity to get complete control of the leadership in France, dream of a "super-Versailles," of

a destruction and dismemberment of Germany, of a military dictatorship of the western "democracies" over the German people. The Polish imperialists, finally, had dreamed of conquering East Prussia and other German provinces, of establishing the dictatorship of the dissipated Polish Pans over half of Central Europe so that it could then march as a "Crusader" against the Soviet Union.

The war aims of all the belligerent governments have nothing to do with "freedom, democracy, self-determination," etc.; on the contrary, they consist of conquest and subjugation—and after settling the imperialist conflicts, of establishing a closed capitalist front against socialism, against the Soviet Union. A victory of English imperialism would Balkanize all of Europe, would help to bring to power reaction of the type of Franco and Metaxas, of the type of the Polish and Rumanian "lords" and reduce the peoples to cannon fodder against the land of socialism. A victory of German imperialism would enslave the peoples no less and reduce them to the profoundest misery. The German, like the English, the French, like the Polish imperialists, are waging a war against the interests of the peoples, an unjust, an imperialist war.

This war is distinguished in every respect from the just war which the Spanish people waged against the fascist invaders, which the Chinese people are waging against the Japanese militarists. These people solely defended and are defending their independence. What was and is at stake for them is not the conquest of foreign territory or the imposition of their will on foreign nations, but solely the protection of their homeland, the maintenance of their independence. This just war is characterized by a democratization of public life, by the development of free democratic rights, by the firm alliance of the masses of people, in which the Communist Party plays a most decisive role. The war now raging in Europe is characterized by the systematic destruction of democratic rights, by a drive against the Communists, by the openly appearing dictatorship of the

bourgeoisie. The "democratic" belligerent states are also approaching "authoritarian" fascist methods with giant strides, are more and more taking over the fascist "achievements," from the concentration camps up to the furious incitement against the land of socialism, against the forces of socialism. All the belligerent states are waging the war not only on the "external" but also on the "internal" front, as a war against the revolutionary working class, as a war against the interests of the people.

The policy which led to the war, the war aims and the reactionary measures of the belligerent bourgeoisie aimed against the people, characterize the present war in Europe as an imperialist robber war, as a war against the interests of the peoples. The situation arising from this war, therefore, does not differ from the first imperialist World War in the character of the war but in the experiences of the masses of people and in the existence of a mighty socialist peace force, in the existence of the great Soviet Union, as well as in the existence of a genuine, steadfast proletarian international, the Communist International.

For twenty years, the Soviet Union has fought with tireless patience and undeviating consistency for the maintenance of peace and has thwarted the war plans of the imperialists. But the bourgeois governments have done everything, with insane stubbornness, to isolate the land of socialism. When peace hung only by a hair, the Soviet Union made a last attempt, by negotiating with England and France, to prevent the further spread of the imperialist war. The English and French imperialists however up to the last moment have left nothing undone in order to drive Germany into a war against the Soviet Union. When the Soviet Union was convinced that England and France did not want peace but were only preparing a worse Munich against the land of socialism, it broke up the shameful plan to provoke an anti-Soviet war by its non-aggression pact with Germany. Thereby it placed its peoples outside of the imperialist slaughter in Europe. Its attitude, however, differs

fundamentally from the hypocritical "neutrality" of the bourgeois states. The foreign policy of the Soviet Union never serves imperialist interests but always the interests of socialism and thereby the interests of the working class, of the toilers in all countries. While the English imperialists who disgracefully oppress hundreds of millions of people get all heated up about the "freedom" of the Polish Pans, the Soviet Union has actually brought freedom to eleven million Ukrainians and Byelo-Russians, has saved them from foreign invasion and has pushed back the border posts between the capitalist hell and the world of socialism for a considerable stretch.

The international situation has changed fundamentally. This change is characterized by the fact that the European war has sharpened all the contradictions of the capitalist system to the utmost, and has called forth an unparalleled crisis of capitalism. It is also characterized by the fact that the Soviet Union through its foreign policy is ever more powerfully influencing the course of international events. While all the belligerent states by their mercilessly reactionary foreign and domestic policy are removing the last remnants of distinction between the so-called democratic and fascist states, while the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in all the belligerent states is more and more assuming the same gruesome character, the toilers of all countries are recognizing more and more clearly that socialism is historically on the march. While the reactionary leaders of the Second International in the service of English and French imperialism are more and more vilely conducting their incitement against the Soviet Union, against socialism and against the Communists, the toilers of all countries will see in the Soviet Union their strongest power, in socialism their entire hope and in the Communists their most faithful champions.

In the last twenty-five years, the toilers have undergone indescribable experiences. They remember not only all the horrors of the first imperialist World War but also the monstrous deception

perpetrated against them at that time. They have lived to see that the "eternal peace" which the imperialists promised them at Versailles has called forth a new horrible war. They have experienced the betrayal of the Revolution of 1918 by the Social-Democratic leaders, the rise of the fascist rule of force out of the lap of bourgeois "democracy," the complete bankruptcy of this bourgeois "democracy." They are now experiencing the second Imperialist War. At the same time they see that the road of the Bolsheviks led to the establishment of an invincible workers' and peasants' power, to the peaceful flourishing of socialism, to the construction of a gigantic socialist state whose powerful policy is supporting exclusively the interests of the peoples.

This war is distinguished from the first

imperialist World War by all these experiences of the masses. By means of all these experiences, the masses will overcome the last remnants of bourgeois democratic illusions, will see through the new counter-revolutionary betrayal of the leaders of Social-Democracy and will turn ever more resolutely to the Communists. In the consciousness of the masses, there will mature more and more rapidly the idea of storming—of storming *all* those responsible for the war, of storming *all* forms of bourgeois dictatorship, of storming capitalism. In the struggle against reaction and war, the working class will realize its fighting unity, its alliance with the peasants, in order to bring the war to an end by revolutionary means and to strike at the root of war, at capitalism.

The People Must Dig Into Their Pockets

THE people must pay for the war of the imperialist criminals not only with their blood but with unprecedented privation. The imperialist war will not be financed at the expense of the rich but at the expense of the poor. In none of the belligerent states will the fortunes of the big capitalists be touched; in all the belligerent states only the working people will be forced to use their wages to fill the war chests of the capitalist robbers. The Nazi officials have carefully invested abroad the millions which they collected in the few years of their dictatorship. The British lords and the Two Hundred Families in France have taken care not to sacrifice their profits on the "Altar of the Fatherland." What do we have workers for? What do we have toilers for? The "Fatherland" that takes away their sons feels fully justified in taking their wages too.

In England, the offensive against wages has already begun. Commodities are becoming dearer. By means of a drastic increase in the income tax that falls most heavily on the common people, the mass of workers and employees are forced to pay for the war of The City. Besides, mass consumption has been burdened by new taxes; thus, for example, the sugar tax was increased by one penny per pound. The government cynically declared it would not be "just" to put the whole burden of the war on the payers of direct taxes and, hence, to burden the propertied classes. All the burdens of the war are loaded on the masses.

In France, not only were the 72-hour week and Sunday work introduced, but the arrangement was also made for the workers to give their Sunday and overtime pay "for the families of the mobil-

ized men," as the government of the Two Hundred Families demagogically claimed. The profits of the capitalists responsible for the war will not be confiscated for the support of the families driven to the slaughter, but the workers will be forced to work Sunday and overtime gratis without even knowing what actually happens to the money of which they are robbed.

One can best understand what is still in store for the workers of all the warring states if one visualizes how the German capitalists finance the war. The system to which all the belligerent states aspire has hitherto advanced furthest in Germany; here, the tendencies of decaying capitalism, from which the hemorrhage of war bursts forth with irresistible force, stands out most clearly.

The *Völkische Beobachter* of February 9 wrote:

"He would be a scoundrel who did nothing but take, and always wanted to do nothing but take, and who, now, at this decisive hour, when hearts are moved to kindness and when one must 'dig into his pocket' for once, is able to stand aside with empty hands."

These scoundrels who always did nothing but take and always wanted to do nothing but take could not possibly refer to the Nazi parasites who grew fantastically rich in such a short time, or to the capitalist robbers whose profits soared dizzily in a short time, but to the "work-takers," the workers, who stood aside with empty hands, while the coal barons, the iron and chemical bosses, the "trustees" and administrators of the great German Reich stuffed their pockets full!

Those who must dig into their pockets

are not the rich but the poor. Their hearts are touched and not the pocket-books of the masters of the Goering works, of the steel trust, of heavy industry and the big landowners.

Who it is that must "dig into his pocket" can be seen with truly brutal frankness from the war economy provisions; it is the workers who must "dig into their pockets," the workers whose working time is practically unlimited, who may be commandeered to do any kind of work, who can be obliged to perform unlimited overtime and at radically cut wages—"since such things can't be bought, you know," as the masters of Germany cynically say in justification of the wage cuts.

The big-capitalist *Deutsche Bergwerkszeitung* of August 9 consolingly declared that not only wages but also salaries are being reduced, "starting with the smallest employee up to the general manager." At the same time, it is announced that no rise in the property tax and corporation tax is looked for; that, therefore, the big fortunes as well as the joint-stock companies, cartels, concerns, etc., "stand aside" while the toiling masses finance the war. Wages, in fact, even "the salaries of the general managers," are being cut—which is certainly the height of "community"—but the dividends which Mr. General Manager pockets, which flow into the pockets of the shareholders, remain untouched.

Not only the workers and employees must "dig into their pockets" but also the peasants whose labor-products are confiscated by the "Fatherland," while the big landowners grow rich from the war. The small producers and small merchants whose workshops and stores are closed by the state, and whose proletarianization is explained as a state necessity, must also "dig into their pockets."

The "Decree on communal works in small establishments and trades" deals a death blow to hundreds of thousands of small producers and entrepreneurs. The employers of one branch of enterprise are joined together in compulsory organizations, in so-called "communal works." Every entrepreneur, "in the

course of such combination, can be prohibited either temporarily or permanently from carrying on his business, receiving compensation from the remaining members of such a business combination." The big-capitalist *Frankfurter Zeitung* of September 9 and 10 lauded these arrangements and added:

"An undertaking or business may have its temporary function or even its permanent function taken away from it because of higher considerations; it is taken over by other enterprises."

The *Zeitung* also informs us frankly what the "higher considerations" are according to which this monstrous robbery of the small producers and business people is taking place. This "higher consideration" is, as the *Zeitung* states, the "special encouragement" by the state of the capitalist process of concentration. All that is involved here is a forcible expropriation of the small in favor of the big; insatiable big-capital is utilizing the war to finish off the small entrepreneurs and to concentrate all the means of production of the country in the hands of a few robbers of the first magnitude in order to direct all the profits into the pockets of a few hundred families.

State Secretary Posse has described this process of forcible concentration of capital in the *Deutsche Bergwerkszeitung* of September 9, by saying that only those production plants may be maintained that "are indispensable for waging the war." That means, therefore: the production and the entire profit go into the hands of that thin layer of capitalists whose imperialist policy provoked the war and who now claim as the first profits of the war unrestricted dictatorship and control over the entire, literally entire, economy. The "socialism" for which the German fascists pretend to be fighting, therefore, bears the stamp of the unrestricted dictatorship of the most brutal, most reactionary, capitalist bandits and enemies of the people, the stamp of the most villainous and cunning exploiters, profit-makers and war provocateurs.

State Secretary Posse, whom we quoted above, could not help admitting that it would not pass without "great hardships and burdens"; but he was careful not to add that only the economically weak are exposed to these hardships and burdens and that for the big-capitalist robber bands, a period of tremendous enrichment has begun. State Secretary Posse has frankly stated the horrible truth: "In the totalitarian war, there is no longer any civilization!" But he forgot to add: in the totalitarian war, there is only the profits of a handful of bandits and measureless suffering of the masses of people!

We are only at the beginning of the frightful "financing" of the war by the measureless suffering of the masses. The process which Karl Marx characterized in his immortal work *Capital* in the fol-

lowing words will be driven to a head at an unprecedented tempo by the war:

"Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capitalism . . . grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this too grows the revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, unified, organized by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself." *

This accumulation of wealth on the one hand, which has culminated in horrors, and poverty, oppression, enslavement, but also culminates in wrath, on the other, will inevitably give rise to the storming of capitalism by the people.

* Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, pp. 788-789, International Publishers, New York.

Chamberlain and the Czech People

CHAMBERLAIN, who a year ago had himself glorified as a "savior of peace," declared war on Germany on September 3. The tense situation in England, which is in no small measure due to his reactionary foreign policy and his incomparable failures, has prevented him from openly announcing his real aims and aspirations. He must, therefore, cover up the real war aims of English imperialism with all kinds of phrases about democracy and freedom in order to keep the lack of enthusiasm for the war among the English people from freezing up altogether. He, who undertook to guarantee Poland, knows that this pretext is insufficient to produce any sentiment for war, for he had to admit himself that England did not give Poland any aid. In order to deceive the masses, therefore, he poses as the fighter for the freedom of the Czechoslovak people. It was the sheerest mockery when, a few days after the outbreak of the war—and the Polish collapse was already obvious—Chamberlain declared in a message to Benes:

"The sufferings of the Czech nation shall not be forgotten and we expect that the principles for which we have taken up arms will also signify the liberation of the people of Czechoslovakia from foreign rule."

What "principles" did Mr. Chamberlain represent with regard to Czechoslovakia about a year ago? In Spain he stood for the "principles" of "non-intervention" in order to give the fascist invaders a free hand, while he intervened unscrupulously in the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia so that he could be of service to fascism by means of this intervention. He sent his Runciman to

Czechoslovakia to "mediate" between the Czechoslovak government and the Henlein Party. This "mediation" by Mr. Runciman was quite remarkable. He had no trouble in establishing immediate contact with the Henlein Party, but somehow he found it very difficult to make contact with the Czechoslovak government at that time. His proposals were not those of a mediator or, as he was also called, of an advisor, but those of an attorney for the Henlein Party. In no way did he contribute towards bringing about an understanding between the Czechoslovak government and the Henlein people; on the contrary, he was the one who advised Henlein to burn all his bridges and to insist upon the separation of the Sudeten area from Czechoslovakia.

Chamberlain behaved exactly like Runciman whom he had assigned for the task. He who often spoke about the proposals of the Czechoslovak government appearing to go too far, who in words seemed to be mildly resisting the German demands and claims, while in deeds accepting one demand after another, saw to it that the French government also disgracefully betrayed its obligations to Czechoslovakia. But, today, Mr. Chamberlain dares to assert that this war will also "signify the liberation of the Czechoslovak people from foreign rule."

Was not Mr. Chamberlain fully aware a year ago, after his conversations in Berchtesgaden and Godesberg and in the conspiracy of Munich, that he was delivering up the people of Czechoslovakia to German foreign rule? Was it not Mr. Chamberlain who agreed not only to the separation of the Sudeten area but also to the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia and its delivery to German imperialism? Was it not Mr. Chamberlain who com-

pelled the Czechoslovak government to capitulate before fascism? Did not Mr. Chamberlain know that the overwhelming part of the people of Czechoslovakia, including the army, was fully prepared to fight for its independence and freedom and to defend the democratic Czechoslovak republic against dismemberment and foreign domination?

Chamberlain knew it and just because he knew it, he insisted on capitulation and was against the defense of the Czechoslovak republic. Because he conducted a pro-fascist policy, because the policy of curbing every move for freedom by the peoples also appeared to be useful for his plans, he ignored the opposition sentiments among the English people and the aspiration of the masses to establish a real peace front during the entire critical period last autumn, and betrayed the Czechoslovak republic against the will of the English people and the rest of the peoples of the world. It was the emissaries of Chamberlain and Daladier who dragged Benes out of bed during the night and presented him with Germany's demands as an ultimatum from England and France. It was they who refused to keep their obligations as allies to Benes and compelled him to capitulate and resign.

It was Chamberlain and his clique who then spoke of the "second republic," who then gave the appearance of wanting to protect the remaining part of Czechoslovakia. But already in November, 1938, when the question of guaranteeing the boundaries of Czechoslovakia was discussed in the House of Commons, it was Chamberlain who declared that the question was not of guaranteeing the Czechoslovak boundaries but only of a guarantee "against an unprovoked attack." Such a guarantee naturally offered no obstacles for Germany and Italy, either themselves or indirectly through their vassal states, to cut off additional areas of Czechoslovakia "peacefully," that is, à la Munich.

And this same Chamberlain, who had given guarantees to Austria only to surrender it to forcible "Anschluss" with Germany, who had given guarantees to

Czechoslovakia only to allow it to be dismembered, who did nothing to stop the rest of Czechoslovakia from being transformed into a "German protectorate," this same Chamberlain whose "principles" and whose "guarantees" always acted like poison and which guaranteed to ruin the guaranteed, dares to declare that "the sufferings of the Czechoslovak people shall not be forgotten." It was in his power to spare the peoples of Czechoslovakia the sufferings of the last year. And if today Mr. Chamberlain, with hypocritical sympathy and deceitful promises, puts forward the liberation of the peoples of Czechoslovakia, he does this only to conceal the real war aims from the English people and to create the impression that this war is a war for the defense of democracy.

Chamberlain and his clique are no democrats; they are no friends of peace and no bearers of freedom. Chamberlain and his clique represent the most imperialistic, the most reactionary, the most anti-labor section of the English big bourgeoisie. They have only one goal: to curb the labor movement in all countries, to strangle the people's striving for freedom, to smash the revolutionary mass movement of the people and to unleash war against the Soviet Union. Those were their "principles" last autumn; those are their "principles" today. For the sake of these "principles," they crippled the resistance of the people of Czechoslovakia against fascism; they got France to betray Czechoslovakia; in alliance with Czech reaction, they compelled the Czechoslovak government to capitulate; they calmly watched reaction raise its head in Czechoslovakia and bring down bitter suffering upon the working class of Czechoslovakia.

A year ago, Chamberlain worked quite consciously to get Benes to resign, for, in view of the situation at the time, Benes would perhaps not have been in a position to direct the revolutionary upsurge of the Czech and Slovak people into "moderate," "peaceful" channels before it was too late. Today, the situation is different. Today, Mr. Chamberlain

plays himself up as the "liberator" of Czechoslovakia from German foreign domination. Mr. Chamberlain does not yet know how this war, which he has helped to conjure up, will end. But, in any case, he is looking about in good time for a suitable statesman to help him realize his "principles"—to avert "the worst," that is, the revolution, at least in Czechoslovakia. Benes, who has always supported the imperialist policy of England and France, appears to him to be a guarantee against a thoroughgoing revolution of the Czech people.

For Chamberlain, the Czech people now, as before, are an object of commerce between the imperialist great powers. It is not the suffering of the peoples of Czechoslovakia that weigh upon the conscience of Mr. Chamberlain and cause him to take precautions for the future; it is the fear of the future that hangs over him. He knows that the peoples of the world have understood that his guarantees are intended to make their conditions even more miserable, to restrict their scant liberties even more, to limit their wretched rights still further. To be "guaranteed" by England today amounts almost to a death sentence. That is why Chamberlain today talks so loudly about democracy and freedom, about truth and justice. That is why this pro-fascist pretends so hard today to be an "anti-fascist."

Behind the mask of "democrat" and "anti-fascist," Chamberlain is seeking advocates for his reactionary policy. He knows to whom he must turn in this

mask: to the reactionary leaders of the English Labor Party who had hailed him as the "Savior of Peace" and who today join him in calling for the "liberation" of Czechoslovakia. At Chamberlain's behest, the reactionary Labor leaders addressed themselves to the people of Czechoslovakia, saying: "The French and English people do not desert you! Justice is on our side. The Czech and Slovak people will soon be free."

These reactionary leaders of the Labor Party support Chamberlain's imperialist policy now as much as before. They have dropped out of their vocabulary the term class struggle; they no longer know the words, "international solidarity of the working class." They have never seriously fought against bourgeois reaction. In all decisive situations they have acted against the interests of the working class and have always allowed themselves to be taken in tow by the bourgeoisie. They are acting just like that now when Chamberlain promises Czechoslovakia "liberation from foreign rule." But the Czech and the Slovak people will recognize more and more clearly that their liberation will not come from the capitalist western powers, not from any kind of promises, not from deals between Chamberlain and Benes. The Czech and Slovak people can secure their freedom only by taking the road of struggle *independent* of the imperialists and their agents, only in alliance with the Austrian people, with the German working class, with the international revolutionary movement, only through the revolutionary struggle against foreign rule and against native reaction.

The Indian People Ask

THE English imperialists have an extraordinary opportunity to lend proper weight to their unctuous profession of devotion to freedom, democracy and self-determination. Every day these guardians of eternal justice solemnly affirm that they are not waging the war from motives of base self-interest—God forbid!—but only because they cannot bear to see the oppression of foreign peoples, because their conscience commands them to defend freedom, democracy and the right of self-determination of nations. Unique perspectives now open up for these noble aspirations. The Indian Congress Party has called on the British government for a definitive declaration of its war aims with regard to democracy and imperialism. In addition, the Congress Party has demanded a declaration as to how these aims would affect *India* and how they are to be carried through. The Congress Party asserted that India is bound to a policy in which it has no say.

Actually, the English imperialists ought to thank providence that the opportunity to demonstrate the honesty of their intentions was afforded them so soon. Over three hundred million Indians are robbed of their right of self-determination. One of the greatest and oldest of civilized peoples in the world is under the yoke of British foreign domination. And lo and behold: the English imperialists have suddenly transformed themselves into noble warriors for self-determination. If they do not want to stand exposed as miserable deceivers, they must grant the unrestricted right of self-determination to the Indian people, they must return their stolen freedom.

The delicate English imperialists have declared that the war against Germany

is essential because the deeds of the German government do not tally with its words, because the rulers of Germany are deceivers, because they must see to it, by force of arms, if necessary, that great states are honorably governed. One would expect, therefore, that the English government would harmonize its own deeds with its own words, that it is not so deceitful and dishonorable as to unleash a war "for freedom, democracy and self-determination" and at the same time withhold freedom, democracy and self-determination from one of the greatest people in the world.

The English imperialists have demanded that Germany withdraw its troops from Poland and respect the full equality of the Polish people. That is an excellent demand but it will remain a contemptible hypocrisy as long as England does not withdraw its troops from India and respect the full equality of the Indian people. When the English imperialists piously raise their eyes and reply that the Indian people certainly could not be left to the mercy of their corrupt maharajahs, one must remind them that the majority of the Indian people are under direct English rule and that the corrupt Polish pans are not a whit better than the Indian maharajahs and that it is the concern of the Polish and Indian peoples to rid themselves of their native tyrants.

The English imperialists have declaimed: If Germany has just demands on Poland, it must seek to attain them by peaceful agreement but in no case must it apply force for that purpose. That is an excellent principle, but so long as England, which has no just demands whatsoever on India, continues to employ force to oppress the Indian peo-

ple, this principle hits the British imperialists right back in the face.

As long as the English imperialists claim to be defending the principles of freedom, democracy and self-determination in this war against their German competitors, while they themselves reply with airplane bombs and cannon fire when the Indian people dare to take these principles seriously, they are nothing but hypocrites and liars. The burglar who, in the name of morality, honor and law, demands that another burglar immediately return the latter's loot, is a strange representative of the moral order of the universe; but this is precisely the role which the English imperialists like to play. More than that: How would one describe a robber's accomplice who afterwards offers his services as an angel of mercy to the plundered and seriously wounded victim whom he had lured into an ambush? But this is exactly the role which the English imperialists like to play towards the people of Czechoslovakia whom they handed over to the knife of German imperialism only to pose now as their liberators.

Till now, the English imperialists have expended their unfortunate love for freedom, democracy and self-determination on the most worthless object—on the corrupt and dissipated Polish lords. Imagine, this filthy vestige of tsarism which calls itself the Polish government has found grace in the eyes of British "free-

dom imperialists"! Imagine, depraved and megalomaniac Polish landowners who treated their peasants like serfs, lashed them with the knout, condemned them to hunger, disease and illiteracy, who oppressed eleven million Ukrainians and White Russians with unspeakable cruelty, who regarded the state solely as their private bank and who could be bought by every foreign power—imagine, these bloodsucking specters of the tsarist past are the star witnesses, the *only* witnesses for the English imperialists' "war of liberation"!

But now not a gang of bankrupts but a great and noble people are turning to the oh-so-democratic, oh-so-honorable, oh-so-freedom-loving British bourgeoisie and asking what the English government's avowal of freedom, democracy and self-determination really means for the Indian people. Will the English imperialists refuse to the oppressed Indian people what they so magnanimously accord the oppressors of the Polish people, of the Ukrainian and White Russian minorities?

Of course, they will refuse it. But what they pass off as freedom, democracy and self-determination are only counterfeit banknotes, the use of which is mercilessly punished in their own empire. The freedom *they* mean bears the countenance of a Polish oppressor of peasants but not the countenance of the three hundred million Indian people.

The War of the Two Hundred Families

WHEN the French workers and peasants were called up for military service in the fall of 1938, they sang the *Marseillaise* and the *International*. They felt that they were going to defend not only Czechoslovakia and France but also the freedom of all peoples against fascist despotism. They were still imbued with the spirit of the powerful people's movement which in February, 1934, had hurled back the fascist gangs, which at a single stroke in the summer of 1936 had gained sweeping concessions for the toilers of France, which had posed a strong and noble France of the people against the corrupt and decayed France of the Two Hundred Families. They were quickened by the historic memory of the armies of the French Revolution which overwhelmed European reaction with irresistible force a hundred and fifty years ago and held aloft the banner of freedom at the head of the peoples of Europe. They were permeated by the consciousness that they were entering a just war, a war of liberation.

With the profoundest anxiety, the reactionary French bourgeoisie watched this mobilization of the masses, and the freedom-inspired character which this arming of the people assumed. Had it done everything conceivable to strangle the Spanish people's war of liberation only to find itself suddenly confronted by a war of liberation of the French people? Was the People's Front, which already appeared to be paralyzed, to gain new strength? Was the anti-fascist fighting spirit of the people once more to scotch the game of the Two Hundred Families? The betrayal of Czechoslovakia, the disgraceful capitulation of Daladier at Munich freed the reactionary French bourgeoisie from its dreams of anguish. Now it could proceed com-

pletely to destroy the People's Front, to take away from the working class all of its social gains and infuse the toilers with the poison of discouragement.

During the year that preceded the outbreak of the European war, the reactionary French bourgeoisie succeeded in establishing a regime of the most odious and perfidious reaction in France. The France of the people was buried under the anti-people's policy of the Daladier government; and now the French workers and peasants no longer see any reason for waging war against Germany. Silently, with grim and pensive faces, they go off to this war which a government, hostile to the people, has imposed upon them. They feel that they are not defending their own interests in this war but that they are being used to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for forces alien to the people.

A year ago, the defense of France would have been a defense of the eight-hour day, a defense of the wages, the social gains of the working class—since then, the eight-hour day has been abolished, wages have been reduced, the social gains of the working class have been destroyed.

A year ago, the French workers had their democratic civil liberties to defend—since then, the reactionary pro-fascist bourgeoisie in France has itself attacked democratic rights: police have been used against strikers, the party of the revolutionary workers, the Communist Party, has been prohibited, Communist newspapers have been banned, the elected deputies of the proletariat are jailed en masse because they expose the lies of the government.

A year ago, the French toilers could assume that democratic France was defending the freedom of nations against the fascist dictatorship; since then,

"democratic" France has subjected the Spanish fighters for freedom to starvation and terror in concentration camps; it delivered up the peoples of Czechoslovakia to foreign German rule by unparalleled treachery; it participated at Munich in an insidious conspiracy against the land of socialism.

A year ago, the French anti-fascists could hope that they would be given arms to protect France from fascism; since then, the French government at Munich not only prevented German fascism from being ruined by its own inner difficulties but also opened all the doors to the fascists in France itself; Messrs. Doriot and Flandin, Tardieu and de la Rocque already have one foot in the government while the Communists, the most tested fighters against war and reaction, are persecuted and outlawed. A year ago, the French people were convinced that France would take its place in a powerful peace front and side by side with the great Soviet Union call a halt to all war provocateurs; since then, the French government, in the tow of the English imperialists, has sabotaged the establishment of such a peace front, serving not the interests of the French people at the negotiations in Moscow but the wishes of the English war provocateurs, at the same time deceiving the masses with the false promise that the peace front was as good as assured and that the signing of the peace pact was imminent.

The French workers and peasants are justified a hundred-fold therefore in their profound unwillingness to enter this war. The France of today has nothing to do with the France of the People's Front. The words of the *Marseillaise*, "liberty, liberty, beloved liberty," which regained their significance in the France of the People's Front, have become a miserable lie in the France of today. While the government demands that the workers and peasants bleed to death at the front, the social gains of the working class and the democratic rights of the toilers are being rapidly abolished in the rear. The Two Hundred Families and their hirelings are raising their heads higher and higher

and the danger of "total" counter-revolution is growing visibly. The reactionary bourgeoisie is governing by authoritarian methods and its goal has remained the same as in February, 1934; at that time, the fascist offensive of the Two Hundred Families collapsed under the resistance of the masses of people; today, the Two Hundred Families figure on the complete victory of their counter-revolutionary offensive against the French people who are bleeding to death at the war-front.

In February, 1934, also, the French Premier's name was Daladier. Tearfully, he withdrew from his post when the fascists demanded power: he could not bring himself to be responsible for a blood-bath, so he said at that time. When the French workers, headed by the Communists, thwarted the fascist coup d'etat, when the French masses united in a mighty anti-fascist movement, Mr. Daladier came strolling in again through a back door and was suddenly an "anti-fascist." In his newly discovered character as an "anti-fascist," he pushed himself forward until he appeared as the "leader" of the People's Front. In this function, he worked systematically to disrupt the People's Front, to establish a reactionary "authoritative" regime which became more and more like the former regime of Bruening and Papen. He has shown now that he is quite capable of producing a bloodbath and that he is able to resist the forces of counter-revolution just as little as in February, 1934, when he tearfully capitulated before the fascists.

While the French workers and peasants are being told that this is a war for the victory of freedom over fascist despotism, freedom is being throttled in France itself and a despotism is arising in France which differs very little from that of fascism. And for this the French workers and peasants are to spill their blood at the front? No, the war that France and England are waging now is a reactionary imperialist war. Resolute struggle against this war—only this can be the position of the class-conscious proletariat.

Notable Exceptions

THE second imperialist war, which had cast its shadow far in advance, has now broken out in Europe.

But today the situation is different from what it was on the eve of the World War of 1914. A new world, the socialist Soviet Union, was born in the cannonade of the first imperialist war. Out of the ranks of the revolutionary proletariat which had been thrown into confusion by the war, Communist Parties crystallized in almost every country, and a new, militant, Communist International arose.

Today, one-sixth of the earth is socialist. Today, the Communists in all countries of the world are throwing their full weight against the war criminals, against the imperialist rulers. Today, large masses in the parties of the Second International are recognizing right at the outset of the war the betrayal which the reactionary leaders of their parties are perpetrating against the international proletariat and against the toiling people. And here and there, Social-Democratic Party functionaries who are connected with the masses are raising their voices against imperialism and war, against the lackeys of the bourgeoisie in their own ranks. While the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy were spewing gall and wormwood over the conclusion of the Non-Aggression Pact between the Soviet Union and Germany, there were honest and courageous Socialists in all countries who took the conclusion of the pact for what it was: the consistent continuation of the peace policy of the Soviet Union, which corresponds to the interests of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. as well as to the interests of the toiling masses of the entire world.

On August 25, the *Tribune*, the organ

of the well-known Left Labor leader, Sir Stafford Cripps, came out against the anti-Soviet attacks of the London *Daily Herald*. It declared that the *Daily Herald* had been assuring its readers for months that the pact between England, France and the Soviet Union was as good as signed and that the Chamberlain government was staking everything on consummating it. Had the *Daily Herald* exposed the "criminal hesitation" of the Chamberlain government, there would have been the possibility of forcing Chamberlain, through public opinion, to sign this pact. The *Daily Herald* would do well, the paper continued, to direct its charges not against the Soviet Union but against those men in England who produced Munich and were prevented by the Soviet Union from producing an even greater Munich.

And a month later (on September 25), when the Polish army had already suffered complete defeat, when the Polish government had already fled and the population of Poland had been abandoned to its fate, when the Red Army had already brought peace and freedom to the Byelo-Russians and Ukrainians, Stafford Cripps wrote in the *Tribune*:

"In my opinion, the events in Poland can only be taken to mean that the Soviet Union has intervened in Poland after neither the British and French nor the Poles had proved capable of protecting the country against the Nazis. What we Socialists are fighting for is the emancipation of the working class, and no one will convince me that this can be achieved by attacking the Soviet Union."

Cripps states quite clearly here what the reactionary leaders of the Social-Democratic parties, who have sold out

body and soul to imperialism, are anxious to have us forget: we Socialists are fighting for the liberation of the working class! Cripps and many others have recognized that this goal can only be attained if the Chamberlain government, which is "a misfortune for England," is driven out, and the struggle for the liberation of the working class is carried out to the end by the side of the Soviet Union. It is evident from many resolutions and decisions of organizations of the Labor Party, the trade unions and cooperatives that they agree with Cripps and condemn the policy of Citrine and company.

Like Cripps in England, the well-known Socialist, Leon Nicole, in Switzerland, has spoken out repeatedly in his newspaper *Le Travail* against the reactionary warmongers of all shades, against the Munichmen and for the consistent policy of the Soviet Union. An article by Pierre Nicole (son of Leon Nicole) in the Geneva *Travail*, states:

"They yielded to Hitler at Munich because certain circles in London hoped that Hitler would ultimately direct his expansion toward the plains of the Soviet Ukraine. As may be recalled, this is what Chamberlain and Bonnet conveyed to Hitler.

"When the governments of London and Paris, after the occupation of Prague, understood that they had to give up this hope, they tried to approach Moscow. After the attempts to divert the fascist Axis to an attack on Moscow had failed, they still hoped to be able to involve the U.S.S.R. in war against Germany.

"From the Socialist standpoint we see that capitalism has produced fascism for the purpose of strangling the liberation movement of the peoples. Now fascism is attempting to strangle its creator. But we condemn both. . . ."

Nicole, also, is by no means alone in his views in Swiss Social-Democracy. The plan of the leadership of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party to expel Leon Nicole from the party and to discontinue *Le Travail* as a party organ as long as it is headed by Nicole was opposed by many members of the Swiss Socialist

Party. The Geneva conference, in which 200 delegates participated, voted 198 to 2 to demand the immediate withdrawal of the expulsion order against Nicole and expressed their unqualified confidence in him.

The Geneva group of the Socialist Party adopted a resolution against the party leadership and for Nicole. The conclusion of this resolution points out "that unity of action by the trade unions and the other labor organizations is more necessary than ever against the attacks of the bourgeoisie and for an alliance with the U.S.S.R., which has clearly demonstrated its will for peace."

Each day brings new declarations of sympathy for Nicole. Groups of Socialist organizations and individuals have come out for Nicole not only in Geneva, but also in Basle, in Lausanne, in French Switzerland, in Lucens and in the Canton of Vaud. Some of them have especially endorsed his attitude toward the Soviet Union. The Geneva section of the Association of Volunteer Spanish Fighters has also come out against the attacks of the Swiss party leadership on Nicole and for the defense of the Soviet Union. But that has not prevented the leadership of the Swiss Socialist Party from expelling Nicole from the party at its meeting on September 16, withdrawing recognition from *Travail* and *Druit du Peuple* as official party organs, and delivering an ultimatum to the Geneva Canton organization which is almost solid for Nicole, to accept the decision of the party leadership. The decision of the party leadership literally states:

"In case of *refusal* the Socialist Party of Geneva Canton is to be regarded as *expelled* from the Swiss Socialist Party."

But this does not complete the splitting activity of the Swiss Party leadership, for point 4 of the decision states further:

"*Cantonal parties* or *party sections* expressing *solidarity* with Leon Nicole, after the decision of the party leading committee, are *likewise* to be immediately *expelled* from the S.P.S. The same holds

for party sections or cantonal parties that continue to regard *Travail* and *Droit du Peuple* as official party organs."

The bourgeois *National Zeitung* of Basle of September 18, which is close to the Social-Democrats, and which published the decision of the party leadership in full, admits that it has "inaugurated a *serious conflict* between the Swiss party and its Geneva section" and that "the Swiss party must make the speediest effort . . . to establish a *new party section* in Geneva, which will not be easy." The paper explains the procedure of the party leadership on the ground that it could not very well continue to tolerate particularly Nicole's attitude toward the *Soviet Union* "without allowing the greatest confusion to grip the entire working class."

In other words, to tell the truth about the Soviet Union and the tasks of the working class in the struggle against the capitalist war incendiaries is to "confuse" the working class, according to these gentlemen! It is hardly any surprise, therefore, that the S.P.S. today does not even display the modest courage to come out against the censorship of the press, but instead, issues an "appeal" to the board of censors "to avoid any unjustified restriction of freedom of opinion." The party leadership, the majority of which is reactionary, is expos-

ing itself more and more. It is openly going over to the camp of the reactionary bourgeoisie.

But despite all these hostile acts of the anti-working class leaders of the Socialist parties, the policy of the Soviet Union is being received with ever greater understanding among the masses, and the love for the great land of socialism is growing day by day. On the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the U.S.S.R., Comrade Dimitroff wrote:

"In the present international situation there is not, nor can there be, any other *more certain criterion* than one's *attitude* toward the Soviet Union, in determining who is the *friend* and who is the *enemy* of the cause of the working class and socialism, of determining who is a *supporter* and who an *opponent* of democracy and peace." (*Communist International*, No. 11-12, 1937.)

These words are of the utmost importance today. This criterion will also be of decisive importance in the great inner conflict awaiting the Social-Democratic Parties. With the help of this criterion, clear lines may be drawn between those who are on the side of the imperialist rulers, on the side of the warmongers, and those who want to fight against imperialism and war, and for the emancipation of the working class, for socialism.

An Open Letter to Leon Blum

BY ANDRE MARTY

TO Monsieur Leon Blum, Director of *Le Populaire*.

Monsieur Counsellor of State:

So now you are satisfied!

After the ban against *l'Humanité* and the Communist press, the Communist Party of France has been dissolved and its members are being hunted down.

You have defended well the interests of finance capital! For, as a matter of fact, you, your *Populaire* and your party were the first to attack *l'Humanité* violently. The pretext was the German-Soviet Pact. The purpose was to chloroform the masses of the people preparatory to the suppression of *l'Humanité*, which had been decided by yourself and Daladier.

Having obtained this, you continued, without pausing for breath, your campaign against the Communist Party of France. How? By attacking the great Soviet Union with insults and calumnies, in particular its most esteemed leaders and above all our great leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin. You have sought to create belief in an artificial distinction between being a Communist and being a Frenchman. Whereupon you made repeated appeals to the revolutionary workers to leave the Communist Party.

Without success! Then you issued warnings and threats, a "last appeal." You issued a virtual threat of criminal prosecution against the revolutionary working class and its Communist representatives in Parliament unless they broke with our glorious Communist International. You were counting on splitting our Party in this way.

In vain! Our Party as a whole remained steadfast. The hundreds of ar-

rests made during the past month to support your efforts have not changed anything! Only a few poor wretches have returned to their counter-revolutionary manger.

Faced, then, by the failure of your appeals and orders to surrender, after your infamous campaign had laid down an artillery preparation, Daladier dissolved the Communist Party of France; its deputies, its mayors, its active workers are hunted down.

And today you dared to write in *Le Populaire* that this is not what you wanted. Whom do you expect to believe that?

Who has strained every muscle for months and months to smash the united front of the working class? It was you, Blum, and your Socialist Party leadership. When the barrier of the united front had been brought down, reaction advanced with giant strides. Then, Blum, you led the campaign against *l'Humanité*, this great, independent voice of the people. On the very eve of its suspension, the Seine Federation of your Socialist Party mobilized all its members not against the war danger, but against *l'Humanité*.

Then *l'Humanité* was banned. Several days later war broke out and the French working class did not have its newspaper at the moment when it was more necessary than ever.

For *l'Humanité* would have denounced to the masses the way in which war was being brought on. It would have denounced its imperialist, anti-labor, counter-revolutionary character. That is why you demanded its suppression!

When war came, not a day passed in which your newspaper, your party was

not at the head of the incitement against the Soviets, against the Communists. It was Socialist deputies who had the Communists disbarred from the important Parliamentary committees. It was Socialist deputies who, publicly and in writing, asked Daladier for the banning of our Party.

Only a few days before this shameful action, the Socialist Party Permanent Administrative Commission, on your motion, assured Daladier "that he will continue to have the complete and unconditional collaboration of the party and the parliamentary group for all steps made necessary for the safety of the nation."

This is an admission of Sacred Union, until the end, of yourself and your party with the reactionary government of French capitalism!

It was you who concluded this shameful pact with the blackest reaction against the French working class and its party, the Communist Party, against the country of socialism and peace, the Soviet Union.

In vain you strive today, hypocritically, to cover up in your newspaper! You are Monsieur Blum, Counsellor of State, politically far more than legalistically—this is proved by your innumerable secret conversations with Daladier. The declaration of the Permanent Administrative Commission confirms your responsibility: it means that, in your own words, the "safety of the nation" requires the banning of the Communist Party. This is the legalistic conclusion of the political campaign against our Party, against the Soviet Union, which you waged at the head of all reaction for many months. *This makes it quite apparent that when you say, "safety of the nation," you are thinking, "safety of the bourgeoisie."*

What is the real reason, therefore, for your attitude and that of your party? This is what I wish to explain to the workers, the Socialist workers in the first place, to the French people.

For today a tragic reality faces the working class and the people of the entire country: a second imperialist war has just broken out in Europe, with its

trail of massacres, unspeakable suffering and misery.

But you know well that the French Communist Party is against imperialist war and its essential cause, capitalism. That is why you and your kind—the Sacred Union Socialists—have been at the head of the struggle against the French Communist Party, the only force which opposed this war. That is why you have demanded its dissolution, believing that this would give the bourgeoisie a free hand in waging this imperialist war, this unjust war.

Why is this war unjust?

To answer this question, we must find out not only who began it, but what forces and what classes are waging the war, and what their aims are. The answer is easy.

Like twenty-five years ago, all the governments conceal their aims in order to drag the peoples into war. On invading Poland, Hitler claimed to be struggling for the liberation of Danzig and to defend Germany against encirclement—the fate of Czechoslovakia and Austria shows the real aim of Nazism. But, on their part, Daladier and Chamberlain alike, having murdered Spain and betrayed Czechoslovakia, lie with equal brazenness when they declare that they are defending Poland and that they are waging an "anti-fascist" war. The profound cause of this war is the following:

Three imperialist states, Great Britain, France, the United States—wealthy in the essential sources of raw materials, in immense economic, financial and human resources conquered by war, looting and exploitation of the working people—hold more than half the world in their clutches. And they intend to keep and increase these vast territories and fields of exploitation.

But three other imperialist states — Germany, Italy, Japan — poor in these riches, desire to grab from the first group the markets, spheres of influence and colonial domains which they greatly extended with the first imperialist war, precisely at the expense of the states of the second group.

And since neither group could advance

with the ordinary means, they are continuing their policy by other means, by cannon! That is all!

I can hear you already: "And the U.S.S.R., its pacts, its alliances, its Red Army, don't they have their part in this war?"

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Monsieur Counsellor of State, is a country in which—as you well know—the workers and the peasants have driven out the capitalists and big landlords; in which the capitalist system of production and exchange has been replaced by collective ownership of these instruments, by the socialist system of the free and harmonious development of man in a life of prosperity and freedom such as is worth living.

The profit motive does not exist any longer in the U.S.S.R. The only interest of the socialist power is the happiness of man.

That is why the U.S.S.R. can only desire peace, unlike your dear friends Daladier, Chamberlain and Company, with their ceaseless thirsting after profits and loot, because they are the governments of capitalist countries. That is why the U.S.S.R., the socialist state, is an essential factor for peace.

The entire existence of the Soviet Union proves this point. Tenaciously and with inexhaustible patience it has waged this struggle, without a single day of respite since its birth, this struggle which corresponds so precisely to the interests of the international proletariat. You, Monsieur Blum, who have always been and continue to be one of the first to defame the Soviet Union, why do you conceal that the Congress of Soviets issued, on the very day that it took power, November 7, 1917, an appeal for peace to all the peoples and governments of the entire world?

Why do you forget—wilfully—that the U.S.S.R. proposed general, total and simultaneous disarmament at Geneva more than twelve years ago? And that, when this proposal was refused, it then proposed partial disarmament, which was likewise turned down?

Let us take the last months before the

war; after Munich, was it not clear to any sensible man—and the French General Staff was of this opinion—that as a result of the dominating military positions given to Hitler by this notorious conference, war hung only by a thread? How, at that very moment, the Soviet Union still strove to save peace, even though Chamberlain and Daladier, the spokesmen of the London and Paris financiers, systematically pushed it aside.

The Soviet Union therefore proposed to London and Paris a tri-power mutual assistance pact between France, England and the Soviet Union.

It is to the honor of our French Communist Party that it supported this pact which might have saved peace.

Only, Mr. Chamberlain and his adjutants, Daladier and Bonnet, did not want any part of it, at any time.

Why were the negotiations dragged out over four months? Why did they end in a deadlock? Why did the military conference in Moscow, proposed by the Soviet Union, reach no result?

Because of the continuous sabotage at every moment. Were not Chamberlain and Daladier preparing a Five-Power Pact—with Hitler, Mussolini and Beck? You knew about it; it was being prepared in greatest secrecy—for the workers, but not for you, Monsieur Counsellor of State! You mentioned not a word against this "secret." Because it was aimed at the country of the working men, the country of socialism!

Chamberlain and Daladier, the French and British imperialists, desired merely to direct their rival, German imperialism, against the Soviet Union. The scheme was foiled by the German-Soviet treaty.

The French workers are infinitely happy that the Soviet Union followed this peace policy, this independent policy, this policy of the international proletariat.

And they too would like to have a government which would follow such an independent policy and not obey the desires of the London and Paris bankers.

It is vexation at the failure of the underhanded scheme which makes you so wrathful!

Thus we see that the present European war is a war provoked by two imperialist groups, each of which wishes to rob the other; consequently the workers, the farmers, the peoples have nothing to do with this war. Or, rather, they have to concern themselves not only to end it, but to take advantage of it to suppress the cause of wars, the capitalist system.

Only this is what bothers you, Blum, like the good Social-Democratic leader you are. And that is why—as in 1914—you are looking for arguments to justify the war of Chamberlain—the City; and Daladier—the banks.

First of all, you claim that the present war has the aim of defending the independence of Poland! The independence of Poland? What presumption! You, Blum, supported a French government which drowned in blood the movement of national independence of the Druses in 1925; you, Blum, supported a government which repressed with sword and flame the insurrection of the Riffs in 1926. Both times you were in power, at the head of the government, did you give freedom—or even just the ballot—to the 60,000,000 Arabs, Indo-Chinese and Negroes enslaved in the French colonial empire? You did not even release the 3,000 Indo-Chinese held at Cayenne for seven years because they asked for rice, land and the democratic rights of France.

So you are not a person who can put himself up as the defender of the independence of a country!

And the Poland which has just vanished—was it independent?

You know well, Blum, that this reactionary Poland was established from dissimilar parts in 1918 by the Anglo-French imperialists by artificially patching various countries and peoples together. This state, ruled by English and French capital, was created solely as a bulwark and fortress from which to attack the proletarian revolution, which had been victorious in Russia. Its first act as an "independent" state, indeed, was the war of 1920 against the Soviet Republic for the interests of the Anglo-French imperialists and under the command of the French General Weygand.

As a result Western Ukraine and Byelo-Russia were torn from the Soviet Republic.

It was an imperialist Poland which a year ago shared with Hitler in the dismemberment of Lithuania and even of its own ally, Czechoslovakia!

This is the "independent" Poland in the name of which, Blum, at Daladier's side, you plunged the French people into the present war with its horrors, its suffering and already—its scandalous new fortunes.

Furthermore, why did this Poland suffer a military catastrophe unprecedented in history since the period of Napoleon?

The reactionary Polish state was destroyed because its army, though well equipped and well armed, fought without enthusiasm, without patriotism, unlike the Spanish People's Army which, though poorly equipped and poorly armed, fought magnificently for thirty-two months with a morale that no defeat could crush. Why?

The Polish army fought without enthusiasm, without patriotism, because the Polish state did not stop oppressing the Ukrainian and Byelo-Russian national minorities. The oppression and exploitation were such that the British Laborite member of Parliament, Beckett, wrote in 1927 after a trip to Western Ukraine:

"I know India and you have heard of the frightful poverty of the Indian villages. But I have never yet had occasion to see such black, depressing poverty. . . ."

Political, administrative and cultural oppression in no sense differed from that of tsarism; it went so far as ferocious persecution of the teaching of the national languages of these peoples. The number of villages burned, the thousands of peasants tortured to death, are beyond counting—the reactionary Polish state was nothing else than a prison of peoples, like old tsarist Russia!

In addition, the Polish army fought without enthusiasm, because the working class and the peasantry of this coun-

try were subjected to brutality and martyrdom by the reactionary Polish state. For fifteen years they had been deprived of every right, of all forms of organization, except those of the Polish Socialist Party, which was in agreement with Colonel Beck—as you are in agreement with Daladier-Marin; for more than fifteen years the best sons of the Polish people were imprisoned by the tens of thousands, were put to death, and the shootings and hangings of workers were beyond counting.

That is why the Polish, Ukrainian and Byelo-Russian workers and peasants did not wish to die for this state, which was represented by Colonel Beck, at one time placed in power by the Anglo-French imperialists, at another time a German spy expelled from France in 1922.

But you say, with your friend and debtor, Monsieur Daladier, the promise of France, the honor of France, require that she go to the aid of Poland.

Though you do not know dialectics, you do know logic, Monsieur Counsellor of State. Then explain this—when Hitler fascism was preparing aggression against the Sudetenland in September, 1938, you were for “non-intervention.” Your notorious hysterical article singing the praises of Munich is still there to prove it. Like Daladier you sang the praises of breaking a promise. And it was a question of a “democratic” country to which the signature of France guaranteed assistance in case of aggression.

The independence of Poland? The honor of France? That is what you say. But what about Spain, Monsieur Blum? What did you do with Spain, Monsieur Blum, with the great and noble people of this country? Yes, what did you do?

Its governments were all led by Socialists.

None the less you enforced against Spain the so-called “non-intervention” policy, to which you had hypocritically given this name. At the very time you knew of the shipments of arms and troops from Germany and Italy, you blockaded Spain. You even tore up, Blum,

the Spanish-French trade treaty of 1935; in it was written: “Spain undertakes to purchase solely in France all war material which it may need.” From the very first day you tried to strangle this revolutionary Spain, and finally you murdered it in company with Daladier and Chamberlain.

In return you have wanted and you want now to justify French intervention, war, in favor of a reactionary, counter-revolutionary Poland, in favor of a country where the working class, the peasantry, the national minorities, suffered martyrdom, in favor of an anti-Soviet Poland.

Spain was a people's democracy of a new type: the great landed estates were distributed among the poor peasants and the agricultural workers; large-scale industries and the private banks were administered by the state with the assistance of the workers. This was the revolutionary country which you slew. And you demand war from the French people not to save Poland, but to save French and English capital invested in Poland, in oil, textiles, transportation, etc., etc. Well, Monsieur Blum, the French workers and farmers, the people of France, do not want this war!

It is to be understood that you and Monsieur Daladier insisted on fulfilling your promises to this Poland. But that is just the reason why the French working class has nothing to do with it. For it loves the Poland which you hate, the true Poland, that of the Warsaw workers, that of the Lodz textile hands, that of the Ukrainians and Byelo-Russians—who today are free. The French workers love the noble sons of the Polish people, the splendid proletarian heroes of the Dombrowski International Brigade who covered themselves with glory in Republican Spain. And who, like the French workers, are the enemies of the reactionary Polish state which has just disappeared.

And that is why the French working people viewed with the greatest enthusiasm the march of the Red Army to bring peace, order and socialism to the peoples

of Western Ukraine and Byelo-Russia, to the people of Eastern Poland.

They follow with joy the marvelous reception given to the Red Army by the Ukrainian and Byelo-Russian peoples and the Polish workers; the soul-stirring scenes which took place when the army of socialism passed through the villages were a plebiscite which told the truth!

You are shouting in rage to no purpose! The vast majority of the French workers and farmers are happy indeed to see the peoples of these countries liberated from the reactionary dictatorships of the Colonel Becks and his incapable and corrupt landlord aristocrats; they are happy indeed to see the peasant committees seize and distribute the lands and property of the large landowners; they are happy indeed to see the village committees and the workers' guards arresting the reactionaries—officers included—opening the schools, stores, theaters, moving picture houses, and begin a new life under the flag of socialism! They are happy indeed to see city councils run by proletarian fighters who were released from their prison cells by the Red Army!

You closed with a new argument in an attempted justification of this war: "It is," you say, "a war to crush the Nazi forces, it is an anti-fascist war!"

The good sense of the people has already replied to this bit of nonsense!

Who is waging this "anti-fascist" war?

Full-Powers-Daladier, Anti-Parliamentarian Daladier, Personal-Power-Daladier who concentrates in his own hands five Cabinet posts. And who you claim is the only possible Premier! Another proof of your complicity with him!

What kind of "anti-fascist" war can be fought by a government which not only has released the Cagoulards, but has even given them posts in the civilian anti-aircraft defense and the censorship?

Does not the French government protect the infamous slander and murder sheets at the same time that it bans the only free newspaper in France *l'Humanité*,

ité, the paper of Jaures and Vaillant-Couturier, the paper of Cachin and the Communist Party?

It is not the fascist traitors who are sentenced by the Arras court, it is the Communist deputy Quinet, the Communist mayor of Lieven, the Communist mayor of Noeux—to the great honor of these men! It is not the new war profiteers nor the suppliers of rotting meat to the soldiers, nor the milk and sugar, gas mask and pocket lamp speculators who are brought to trial; at this time it is more than 500 workers, men and women, Communists, trade unionists and even some Socialists, who are handed heavy sentences, including fifty soldiers brought to courts-martial. An anti-fascist war? By a government which imprisons and flings into concentration camps thousands of immigrant workers—including the totally crippled soldiers of the International Brigade—whose whole lives consisted in selflessness and sacrifice in the struggle against fascism?

The fascist newspapers, the fascist organizations continue their propaganda more openly than ever. But it is the Communist press which is seized. And the French Communist Party which is outlawed.

Under cover of the war, the government to which you give your full support has abolished the social laws and the last remnants of democratic liberties; this government inflicts upon the people of France the sternest repression they have known since that which followed the Commune. They are employing methods which are becoming less and less different from those of Hitler.

By these actions this government unmasks itself as waging a war against the interests of the people, a war such as that which broke out twenty-five years ago and which cost us in France one and a half million dead and twice that number of crippled soldiers, for the interests of the capitalists alone!

Well, Blum, not a single one of your arguments in favor of the present war holds good. You wish to deceive the workers as you have already done in

August, 1914, with Paul Faure. Then you spoke of a war for right, for civilization, for democracy, against militarism. And no one has forgotten that French militarism and French imperialism were never more insolent than in the years which followed the first imperialist war. You speak now of an anti-fascist war; and never have fascism and reaction been so insolent and so powerful in France as since this new bandit war was turned loose.

And it is because you are for this bandit capitalist war that you place yourself, Blum, at the head of the anti-Soviet, anti-Communist campaign.

That is because you believe that the maneuver which worked once will work a second time. Anti-Communism, which served your friend Besteiro and Colonel Casado to crush the Spanish people and surrender them to reaction, is once more your battle steed.

By calumnies and shameful campaigns you have prepared the violent deeds of the reactionary Daladier government. And then, Blum, you tried to disorganize the only force which opposes the war of French imperialism: the Communist Party. You addressed a hypocritical appeal to the Communists. You called upon us to turn against the Communist International and to follow you under your flag of Sacred Union for the imperialist war.

Come now, Monsieur Minister, do you take the workers and the farmers for imbeciles? No one has forgotten that the Communists are the only ones who had the right viewpoint on all the events which took place in France and the world, and, above all, on the problems of war and peace.

In return, what made possible the conquest of Ethiopia, one step toward war? The Rome accords signed by Laval. Who voted against, and denounced them as preparations for war? Only the Communists. You were in favor, you and your deputies, with Marin and company. You have since claimed to have "recognized your mistake"!

Who denounced the results of your

benevolent neutrality toward the invaders of revolutionary Spain? Only the Communists. You have since claimed to have "recognized your mistake," but a new step toward war had been taken.

Who denounced Munich as not saving peace but bringing war considerably closer? Only the Communists! You and your deputies enthusiastically voted for Munich. You have since claimed to have "recognized your mistake," but the flood-gate to the torrent of war had been opened by then!

Come now, Monsieur Minister, are you still making a mistake? You are therefore a Pope who is infallible in error? If you had been a general, monsieur the warrior with the skins of other people, your soldiers would have been thrice dead. And if you had been a corporal, at your second boner, your squad would have chased you away with rotten tomatoes.

Really, no one will believe that you really were deceived. You, your newspaper and your party have always practiced the policy of the masters of the country, the policy of finance capital, whether against Spain and for Poland, whether against the social laws and for the trusts, whether against the Communists and for Daladier-Flandin. But when clear-headed working class opinion demanded an accounting, you curtsy and withdraw: "Excuse me, there was an error, I made a mistake."

Monsieur Counsellor of State, we are Communists and proud of it. We are proud of being members of the Communist International of Lenin and Stalin, do you hear, Blum, of Stalin. First of all, because the Communist International is the faithful continuer of the First International of Marx and Engels and which really spread proletarian internationalism through the world. And also because the Third International arose out of the heroic and lofty deeds of the Bolsheviks in their struggle against the first imperialist war. Because it developed at the time of the building by the Bolsheviks, with the entire Soviet people, of this socialist society, "the old song which

cradled human poverty," which has become a reality, but so far only over one-sixth of the globe. Whereas, August 2, 1914, "broke open the hideous and pus-filled abcess" of your Second International—in Lenin's words—and revealed it to the advanced working class as a mere assemblage of social-chauvinists all of whom entered the service of their own imperialist bourgeoisie.

In these days of war, we are proud and happy that in all the countries of the old capitalist world hundreds of thousands of members of our International struggle like the French Communists against their own warmongering imperialists and their best valets, the Social-Democrats of your breed, with one thought, one doctrine, that of Lenin and Stalin. Whereas, your Second International reeks with "an unbearable cadaverous stench," as Lenin also said; in 1914 its abcess was broken open, and since it has been so poisoned that it has become the counter-revolutionary vanguard of imperialism, it does not even admit any more the Social-Democratic parties banned by reaction in their countries, even if they fought magnificently, like that of Spain, for instance.

And we are proud to be members of the same International as the Communist Dimitroff, who showed us, facing his class judges and even the executioner's axe, a Communist who did not deny his convictions and unshakably defended the working class and our world party of Communists. And in the dungeons where the workers, farmers, soldiers are thrown by the hundreds, the memory of Dimitroff in Leipzig is always before their eyes.

We are proud to be members of this world party of Communists which has overthrown capitalism forever on one-sixth of the earth and established in its place a socialist regime of prosperity and peace. We are proud, therefore, to belong to the same party as Stalin; we strive to learn from his magnificent

work and to be pupils worthy of him.

You insult Stalin vilely and despicably, Monsieur the Imperialist Counsellor of State; you unmask yourself a little more by trying—you the pygmy—to harm a giant of humanity. The proletarians, the oppressed of the whole world who turn their gaze toward him, know that every minute of the life of Stalin, wholly at the service of the international proletariat, of socialism, is a lesson, a constant call to struggle without weakness of any sort, whether in the far-off days when, with shackled feet, he took the whippings of the police without flinching, with head held high, because he was sure of the future, or whether as the guide and leader of the peoples of the great socialist country, the bright beacon whose attraction for the peoples of the whole world is more powerful every day. The man who has made a reality of the old socialist dream is the man you hate. Blum, you the peanut-politician of the parliamentary corridors; you, Blum, the intimate of the biggest international financiers—decorated for their looting—or for their thefts, like Oustric, your friend.

To the workers, to the advanced thinkers who read these words, I say: We Communists are proud to be one with Stalin in being hated by the capitalists with a hatred you express and defend so well.

Certain that the future belongs to the French proletariat, certain that it will triumph sooner than may be thought, we are proud to belong to the Party of Lenin and Stalin. We are proud because our glorious Communist Party merits such hatred and such repression from the imperialist clique of France with its lackeys of your breed. And like our beloved teachers, we shall not cease the struggle until victory over the enemy, who is in our own country.

Down with the imperialist war!

ANDRE MARTY,
Deputy of Paris

Why Are the People of England Being Sent To Their Death?

BY EDGAR FIELDING

THE Chamberlain government will be remembered in history as that government which tried to save dying capitalism by a bloodbath—like that white-haired despot of legend who, with desperate gruesomeness, sought to prolong his waning life with the blood of young people.

The Chamberlain government, advancing from fiasco to fiasco, from shame to shame, dragged the English people into the imperialist war. In vain do the English toilers ask themselves why they are going to war, why they are being compelled to march to their death.

True, the Chamberlain government has announced that it is orienting on a three-year war—but the *duration* of the war is certainly no answer to the question of the *meaning* of the war. It doesn't pay a people to wage a war even for three days if it is not defending its *own* interests in this war, if it is not risking its life for its *own* goal. But that is exactly what the English people have been told to do.

Chamberlain has told the English people: We are fighting for Poland.

The English people will reply to him: Why for Poland? Is Poland any closer to us than Spain, closer than Austria and Czechoslovakia which Chamberlain categorically refused to defend? Do we have any interest in the domination of the reactionary and dissipated landowners who prevented the free development of the Polish people by means of medieval methods, who oppressed eleven million Ukrainians and Byelo-Russians with inhuman terror? Shall we shed our blood for Messrs. Moscicki, Smigly-Rydz and Beck who cowardly left Poland to its

fate and rushed their own precious lives to safety? Chamberlain concluded his pact with these gentlemen and not with the Polish people; he guaranteed to these gentlemen "their" Poland, that prison of nations which was rotten through and through and whose "function" the Versailles powers regarded as the front against the Soviet Union. *This* Poland has collapsed miserably. As the result of a national struggle for liberation, a new Poland will arise from its ruins, a Poland of the workers and peasants and not a Poland by the grace of the British government. The Polish people are fighting for a Poland without oppressors and without oppressed and by no means for the return of the Radziwells and Lubomirskis, the Moscickis and Becks who led Poland into the catastrophe and then ran away as fast as they could go. And should the English people continue the war for the return of this gang? What a crime to wage such a war!

Chamberlain has told the English people: We are waging war against Hitler—we must overthrow Hitler.

The German people will reply to him: It is not your affair to overthrow Hitler, but our affair; and the British people will understand that. However, it was precisely this struggle of the German people against the dictatorship of the reactionary circles of finance capital embodied in the Nazi regime that Chamberlain stubbornly undermined. Chamberlain had the opportunity often enough, if not to overthrow Hitler, at least to permit his overthrow—and that, without a war, in peace and by means of peace. But each time, Chamberlain not only neglected this opportunity, but, on the

contrary, helped Hitler in every way to wriggle out of the political crisis. If Mr. Chamberlain were actually concerned about Hitler's overthrow, why did he arrange the Munich conspiracy during the deepest crisis of German imperialism? Why didn't he use the united power of the Soviet Union, France, England and Czechoslovakia to disarm German imperialism which had gotten into a blind alley at that time? Why did he hand it a cheap victory by abandoning Czechoslovakia, which cost the people so dear? Why did he so willingly fly to Berchtesgaden and Godesberg and, arm in arm with Hitler, hold forth the false hope to the world that now peace had been saved for a generation?

When Chamberlain declares today that Hitler broke his promise and therefore must be overthrown by a war, the English people will finally demand enlightenment on this mysterious "broken promise." Let Mr. Chamberlain state clearly once for all what "promise" was broken there, what "broken promise" is to be made good through the blood of the people? Is it perhaps the "broken promise" of the English government, which, in spite of solemn guarantees, did not lift a finger for the independence of Austria? Or the broken promise of the French government which handed over its Czechoslovak ally to the knife of German imperialism? Or the broken promise of the German government which guaranteed one frontier after another only to step over them in agreement with England? All this was not new when Chamberlain declared war on Germany. What *new* broken promise therefore, has been added here? Chamberlain does not dare to tell it, but we know this broken promise: Hitler did not pay the price that Chamberlain demanded for his services at Munich: *war against the Soviet Union*. And that is what the English people are to shed their blood for in a war? What a crime to wage such a war!

Chamberlain told the English people: We are waging an anti-fascist war.

The English people will reply to him: Since when are *you* an anti-fascist, Mr.

Chamberlain? Hitherto you have kept your anti-fascism a precious secret from the whole world and with truly touching self-denial have supported fascism everywhere. Weren't you the one who surrounded Italian fascism with elaborate care? Weren't you the one who guided the fascist rulers in Poland and Hungary, in Greece and Portugal with a fatherly hand through every difficulty? Wasn't it you who strangled anti-fascist Spain, who encouraged Spanish fascism in every way? Wasn't it you who plotted against the anti-fascist People's Front in France? Wasn't it you who took the side of the fascist parties against the anti-fascists everywhere?

Mr. Chamberlain wants us to forget that it was he who, at the head and on behalf of the English imperialists, thwarted the anti-fascist struggle and opposed every anti-fascist war with every means at his disposal. The anti-fascism of the working class and the broad masses of toilers was no empty phrase. The anti-fascism of the workers and broad masses of toilers arose on political foundations which do not exist today, for Chamberlain and his clique have destroyed these political foundations. It was necessary and possible to unite all revolutionary and progressive forces under the banner of anti-fascism as long as there were substantial differences between bourgeois democracy and fascist dictatorship, as long as bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties and organizations were prepared to join the working class in defending democratic rights, as long as it could be assumed that some imperialistic states were not aggressors, but were interested in the maintenance of peace. All of this has been invalidated by the policy of the English and French imperialists and their satellites.

The dictatorship of the bourgeoisie which is exercised under the forms of bourgeois democracy becomes less and less distinguishable from the fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The concentration camps which "democratic" France set up for the Spanish fighters for freedom, the outlawing of the French Communist Party, the relentless

persecution of revolutionary workers, the destruction of democratic rights and social gains of the working class, the prison regime of the Two Hundred Families—all this is evidence that the system prevailing in France is not essentially different from the one in Germany.

And our own much-lauded English "democracy" reveals more and more clearly its thoroughly reactionary, "authoritarian" character—not to speak of the tyrannical rule of the English imperialists in the colonies. All the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties and organizations have openly gone over to the camp of the worst reaction and the "anti-fascism" of their leaders takes the form of unbridled *anti-communism*. Strange "anti-fascists" these, who, like Leon Blum and his whole gang, join in the closest united front with the Cagoulards, with the counter-revolutionary terrorists, in attacking the revolutionary workers, who, like Citrine and Greenwood, give unconditional support to the most reactionary government at the helm in England for many a year, and consider their most important task to be the struggle against communism.

And finally: The English and French imperialists have proved to be the *worst aggressors*. They preached "non-intervention" as long as an anti-fascist war was actually being waged, as long as the Spanish anti-fascists were defending their country against the fascist aggressors. They made the most sweeping concessions to German imperialism as long as they figured that it would wage a war against the Soviet Union. They used every means to prevent the establishment of the peace front desired by the Soviet Union, *because they did not want peace but war between Germany and the land of socialism*. And they started the war against Germany the moment the non-aggression pact between Germany and the Soviet Union shattered their hopes of a war between these two states.

This war is no war of liberation but a war of the bitterest and most reactionary enemies of the rights of the toilers in all countries. This war is no anti-fascist war but a war between predatory

imperialists. This war is not a conflict between "democracy" and "fascism" but the bloody and criminal conflict of capitalists greedy for power on both sides. The imperialist predatory character of the war would not be altered in the least if the English bourgeoisie should decide to replace the incompetent Chamberlain by more skillful defenders of English imperialism and transfer Cabinet posts to their Labor lackeys. The imperialist war remains an imperialist war even when the bourgeoisie considers it useful to cover it with the veneer of the Second International. This war not only reveals *the deepest crisis of capitalism* but also sharpens it to the utmost. This most frightful and bloody crisis of capitalism does not distinguish between the *forms* of bourgeois dictatorship and will call forth the judgment of the masses of people on *all* forms of this dictatorship.

As long as an anti-fascist war was possible, as long as such a war was actually being waged in Spain, Mr. Chamberlain was an inveterate pro-fascist. If Mr. Chamberlain suddenly poses as an anti-fascist now, it is necessary for the toilers to be on guard against being used as defenders of the interests of the capitalists, of the imperialists, under the false banner of anti-fascism. Any support of this war is support of dying capitalism, of bloody imperialism. We fight against this war of the imperialist robbers. We brand this war as a monstrous crime.

Chamberlain has told the English people: We are fighting for freedom.

The English people will reply to him: It must cost Chamberlain considerable self-control to utter the word "freedom." It might happen, for example, that the people of India and the other oppressed peoples of the British Empire would take this word seriously, that they would ask the British government: What do you really mean by this? Does the freedom which you are preaching also refer to us or is it a special monopolist freedom? Are you talking of freedom for all peoples or is your freedom reserved to only a few? If Chamberlain values the freedom of foreign peoples so highly that he

even sheds the blood of the English people for it, he certainly ought to be delighted that eleven million Ukrainians and Byelo-Russians have finally been liberated from the hated domination of the Polish Pans. He ought to desire nothing more ardently than to have the other oppressed nations also throw off the yoke of their masters and take the liberty of being free. Strangely enough, Chamberlain, the brand-new "fighter for freedom" is profoundly dismayed by the fact that the peoples actually hope to free themselves and that this hope is not based on England but on the Soviet Union. The "freedom" which English imperialism brings to the peoples either resembles that in India or that in Rumania, Greece, Portugal and other countries which have hitherto been under English protectorate and, under this protectorate, by no means developed in the direction of democracy but in the direction of the most oppressive and vicious dictatorship. And, today, if Chamberlain asserts that England is waging war to liberate the Austrians and Czechs, one must politely remind him that the Austrians and Czechs have fallen victim to German domination not without his help. And finally: Those Englishmen who really took part in a war of liberation—in the Spanish war of liberation—the members of the heroic International Brigades, are being treated like enemies of the country by the Chamberlain government. And, suddenly, this government is supposed to be able to wage a war of liberation? No, Mr. Chamberlain, a war waged by the English imperialists is no war of liberation! This war is a disgrace to England! This war is a crime!

Chamberlain has told the English people: We are waging war to secure a just peace.

The English people will reply to him: We could secure this just peace without war. The likes of you, Mr. Chamberlain, have claimed once before to be waging war for a "just" peace—and the result was the peace of Versailles which brought disorder into Europe and conjured up new wars. Before you plotted

the present war, it was actually possible to prevent the outbreak of the war by means of a just peace. The peace front desired by the Soviet Union would have had the power to call a halt to all aggressions and to spare the peoples the war. It was you, Mr. Chamberlain, who frustrated the establishment of this peace front. Your organized a conspiracy in Munich against the Soviet Union and against the peace of Europe. And when the pressure of the masses forced you to start negotiations with the Soviet Union, you sent a minor official to Moscow without plenipotentiary powers. But you, yourself, flew to Hitler and conducted conversations with him, the exact contents of which the people still have to learn. The negotiations in Moscow collapsed because of your sabotage. At first you wanted to incite Germany to war against the Soviet Union, later you wanted to dispatch the Soviet Union against Germany; in any case, however, you wanted war and not peace. The English imperialists have been driving towards war without let-up in the fatal illusion that Germany and the Soviet Union would do them the favor of tearing one another to pieces, strengthening a third party who is standing there laughing at them.

The war has come, but different from the way our glorious politicians expected. It came as the direct war between English and German imperialism, as a war at the expense of the English people. The war has come because the English imperialists have systematically undermined peace, because they aggravated the war tensions to the utmost, because in their blind hate for the land of socialism and their traditional rivalry with German imperialism, they staked everything on a single card which proved to be worthless. The war has come because the English imperialists wantonly started a conflagration in order to plunge their imperialist rival into it, but, above all, to destroy the socialism which they hate so much. And now the fire has engulfed our own house. Now the incendiaries have driven the English people into the flames in order to pull the

charred chestnuts out of the fire. What a crime is this war, what insanity!

The government of the English capitalists is waging this war not for Poland and not for the oppressed peoples, not for freedom and not for justice—it is waging this war in order to re-establish the waning domination of English imperialism on a heap of ruins and to unite all capitalist forces in a common front under the leadership of England against socialism. In its embittered struggle against socialism which has inspired all the oppressed of the earth with increasing power and confidence, it has endeavored to harness Germany to its aims. When this attempt failed, it attacked the German people in order to force the establishment of a regime in Germany that would be prepared to be the servant of the "Western democracies" against the Soviet Union. The struggle for the domination of Europe and the struggle for a Germany that would be a "bulwark" against socialism—that is the real meaning of the war waged by Chamberlain. We reject this war. We fight against this war. We brand it as an imperialist, an unjust war.

But this war and these war aims are most zealously supported by the reactionary leaders of the Labor Party and the trade unions. Messrs. Citrine and Greenwood who, "in the name of socialism" rejected all collaboration with other political forces against Chamberlain, are now collaborating most closely with Chamberlain. These gentlemen who sabotaged the Spanish people's war of liberation and indignantly rejected the idea of an anti-fascist war have suddenly become fiery champions of the "anti-fascist" war of Mr. Chamberlain and his entire gang of the big bourgeoisie. These gentlemen, who always proved to be the mortal enemies of the anti-fascist united front, place themselves in the front of the imperialist war, in the reactionary united front which includes all the bearers and accomplices of bloodthirsty imperialism, extending from Chamberlain to the labor leaders in England, from the Cagoulards

to Leon Blum in France. Their unbridled incitement against the Soviet Union proves that they consider the main enemy to be socialism, which is developing more and more powerfully and whose irresistible historic advance we are witnessing. They know the real war aims of their bourgeoisie and that is why they unconditionally support Mr. Chamberlain's war.

But the English workers, the English toilers, do not have the slightest interest in this war and these war aims. They do not want to die either for the return of Messrs. Smigly-Rydz and Beck to Poland or for the establishment of a government in Germany that will conduct a more successful struggle against socialism than the present one, or for the establishment of a regime throughout Europe by Mr. Chamberlain and his clique like those in Palestine, Portugal or Greece. They do not want to get under the war dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie which utilizes the war situation to reduce wages, to raise prices, to increase taxes, to intensify exploitation and step by step apply methods that are less and less distinguishable from the "fascist" methods. They want this bankrupt government to disappear. They want to break the power of the imperialist war provocateurs in their own country. They do not want England to consider its mission to be the main prop of decaying capitalism, they want it really to become a land of freedom.

The English toilers will recognize more and more clearly that they will help not only themselves but also the German people and all oppressed peoples best if they defeat reaction in their own country, if they finally get rid of Chamberlain and all the imperialist war provocateurs who have always incited one people against another "in the name of morality and justice," plotted wars and counter-revolutionary putsches, used all means at their disposal to thwart every real movement for liberation and finally plunged their own people into the fire of the war.

In the fire of this war, the English toilers will overcome the fatal illusion

that England occupies a "special position" in the world and that the English people is interested in having its master class enriched by the sweat and blood of foreign peoples. The policy of the English master class, which has been sending other nations into war for centuries, has entered a blind alley. Today, it is not only the French but also the English toilers who must pay the most terrible price for the villainous policy of the British imperialists. The English people are now experiencing in their own bodies the fatal consequences of this imperialist policy. The gentlemen of the City are cementing the breaches and the cracks in their tottering world empire with the suffering and the blood of the British people themselves. This world empire is proving more and more to be a curse to the English toilers. And thus, the misery of the war will hammer the truth home to them that their interests

are diametrically opposed to the interests of the English big bourgeoisie and are in full harmony with the interests of the oppressed peoples weighed down by the yoke of British imperialism. They will become aware that the peace and freedom of the English toilers can be assured only by the overthrow of British imperialism.

British imperialism means war not only for other nations, but war also for the English people, war with all its deadly consequences, not only for the lives but also for the welfare and freedom of the toilers. As long as British imperialism is alive, the English people will be faced with death. The death-day of British imperialism will be the birth-day of inviolable freedom, and secure peace for the English people and for hundreds of millions of people in all parts of the globe.

Fight the War Criminals in Berlin as Well as London and Paris

BY W. FLORIN

I.

NO ONE with even a slight understanding of the nature and basic feature of imperialist capitalism could assume that the German bourgeoisie would allow the Versailles system to stand permanently, that German monopoly capitalism would be satisfied with the position of a second-rate imperialism.

Scarcely had German imperialism recovered somewhat from the defeat in the first imperialist World War than the capitalists immediately began to utilize the dictates of Versailles to stir up a wave of chauvinism among the people. Although they shifted the entire burden of the Versailles tribute onto the toilers, they were not unsuccessful in directing the anger of broad petty-bourgeois masses away from themselves and the capitalist system and transforming it into chauvinist hatred for the victor powers of the first World War.

The German Communists pointed out from the very beginning that the Versailles dictate not only contained within itself the heavy burdens which it imposed upon the German toilers but also the germs of new imperialist conflicts. And all the more so since the Versailles dictate maintained national oppression in the new states set up by it and, in part, even strengthened it and thereby piled up tinder for igniting new imperialist conflicts. For that reason, we Communists, under the leadership of Ernst Thaelmann, were the only German party to fight against the imperialist Versailles from the very start. We

aimed at its revolutionary abolition by waging a struggle against our own as well as against foreign imperialism.

The historic guilt of German and international Social-Democracy consists in the very fact that they supported their bourgeoisies in the first imperialist war, then approved the imperialist peace dictates and, finally, prevented the socialist revolution when an extremely revolutionary sharpening of the class struggle occurred. After the war, the German Social-Democratic leadership considered it their main task to cooperate in strengthening and consolidating weakened German capitalism.

Under the "Weimar democracy," the process of capitalist concentration and monopoly made rapid strides. This concentration of power enhanced the aggressive drive for expansion on the part of the German imperialists. After 1928, the monopoly capitalists of the various governments pushed for armaments with greater determination. The Social-Democratic leaders went along with this all along the line right from the start.

During the world economic crisis, German finance capital considered the time ripe to move towards the forcible repartition of the earth. For this, the warmongers considered it necessary to have tremendous armament, militarization of the people, enormously increased exploitation of the proletariat and plundering of the peasants and middle class, incitement of savage chauvinism and, primarily, the terrorist crushing of all resistance of the toilers.

To carry out this program, the German monopoly capitalists intensified their regime of oppression, abolished all democratic rights of the people, destroyed all legal organizations of the labor movement and transformed their regime of bourgeois-democratic dictatorship into ghastly terrorist fascist dictatorship. This supplied German imperialism with the most important prerequisites for the transition to an aggressive, bellicose foreign policy.

The ruling classes in England and France, which had forced the Versailles dictate upon Europe, were afraid that their system of European domination might be destroyed. For that reason they wanted to keep German imperialism on the level of a second-rate imperialism. They wanted to allow it to be strengthened only to the extent that it could not withdraw from their hegemony. But above all, they hated the growing power of the Soviet Union, whose socialist victories produced a more and more profound effect among the workers and oppressed peoples of the world. In order to weaken both, the ruling classes of England and France attempted to push German imperialism, which was becoming too strong and dangerous for them, into a war of conquest against the Soviet Union. For this purpose they sacrificed Austria, Czechoslovakia and were in agreement with the Polish government to loan the Polish border to German imperialism for a war of aggression against the Soviet Union. They rendered the League of Nations impotent in order to remove all international difficulties from the path of the aggressor and promised further support to him.

Up to the beginning of 1939, imperialist circles in Germany actually played with the adventurous plan of war against the Soviet Union. They glorified themselves all over the world as the storm-troops against communism, concluded the anti-Comintern Pact with the other imperialist states that had fared badly in the partition of the world, and endeavored to prepare this war ideologically among the broad masses.

For six years, the German fascists

sought to arouse hatred for the Soviet Union among the German people. Despite this, the German imperialists had to admit that war against the Soviet Union was and remained highly unpopular. At the same time, they realized that English imperialism was working for a war between Germany and the Soviet Union only because it was interested in weakening both nations in order to insure its hegemony in the capitalist world. That was evident from the double game of English diplomacy. While it incited Berlin to launch a crusade against the Soviet Union, it attempted simultaneously to provoke the Soviet Union into a war against Germany. But the decisive factor for the German imperialists was the tremendous might of the Soviet Union. The German big bourgeoisie understood that a war against the Soviet Union would have ended with certain defeat for German imperialism.

At the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Stalin clarified the foreign policy of the Soviet Union based upon the maintenance of peace, and at the same time branded all warmongers, and primarily those that showed particular interest in a war between Germany and the Soviet Union. But the sly English and French warmongers continued their criminal game, while the German imperialists decided to make a turn.

The German bourgeoisie recalled the Rapallo treaty and manifested its readiness now to accept the formerly rejected proposals of the Soviet Union for the conclusion of a non-aggression pact and to re-establish normal relations between the two countries. Thus, the threatening war between Germany and the Soviet Union was avoided. History has shown that peace and friendship between the Russian and German peoples has always been of mutual benefit. After the non-aggression pact, the possibility of restoring friendly relations between the two states was evidenced. The German toilers, however, regarded this pact as only the first step. They will not only defend it against every reactionary intrigue, they will also strive to establish

a close and inviolable bond of friendship between the German people and the peoples of the Soviet Union.

II.

The first imperialist World War left a profound contradiction between those imperialist states that had profited from the repartition of the world and those at whose expense this partition had taken place, or who felt they had been treated unfavorably in the repartition. In the course of time, this contradiction, especially because of the unequal development of capitalism, led to the most acute tension, to the formation of imperialist blocs and to a series of aggressive acts.

At various times in the past, English, French or German capitalists attempted to unite the imperialists for a struggle against the Soviet Union on the basis of the general contradiction between the socialist and capitalist worlds. Such attempts always cropped up when the capitalist world was shaken by crisis fever.

But they failed because of the inner contradictions of the capitalist powers. This also happened to the last attempt of English reaction under Chamberlain's leadership. In recent years, the reactionary forces strove more and more intensively to divide the world anew at the expense of the land of socialism. The Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact smashed these plans. But the imperialist states were no longer able to bridge the sharpened imperialist contradictions in a "peaceful" manner. Thus, war resulted among the imperialists themselves for the repartition of the capitalist world.

The German imperialists are out to smash the hegemony of the English imperialists over the capitalist world. They want to build up their own colonial empire, oppress and exploit foreign peoples. The English and French imperialists are out to smash the power of their old competitor; they are out to smash the constant threat of this rival once and for all.

These, briefly stated, are the war aims of the imperialist belligerents.

III.

We German Communists accuse German imperialism of having plunged the German people into this war. The German imperialists started the war against Poland purportedly for the purpose of joining the German city, Danzig, to the Reich. In reality, it was not only a question of Danzig and the Corridor, not only a question of crushing Poland and conquering territories that never could be called German, but it was primarily a question of the struggle against England for hegemony in Europe and the seizure of colonies.

The opulent German monopoly capitalists announce through the lips of the Nazi leaders that "poor Germany" wants its share of the colonial world which the rich states withhold from it. Would the German workers and peasants be any better off if the Krupps, Thyssens, Mannesmanns and Company could extort super-profits from the colonial peoples? No! From previous conquests, the German toilers can draw the lesson: the more that German imperialism oppresses foreign nations, the more that it reduces their living conditions to a barbaric level, the more the German toilers are themselves enslaved and exploited.

The Nazi leaders claim that Germany is a poor country. But at the same time, Hitler has boasted that during the few years up to the war his government has sunk ninety billion marks in armaments. This tremendous sum was squeezed out of the people. Had these ninety billion marks been spent in the interests of the people, things would look different in Germany.

The Nazi leaders demagogically explain to the German wage slaves that international capital does not want to let Germany live and that is why war must be waged. But the German big capitalists are just as much a part of international finance capital as the English, French and American finance capitalists. There is no abstract international capital. Concretely, it resolves itself into

English, French, German and other capitalists whose interests are always opposed in a hundred ways and always interlocked in a hundred ways. They incite the people against one another and at the same time sit together in the international trusts. But they are all agreed on one thing—to exploit the producers still more and to plunder the subjugated peoples still more. That international finance capital whose pressure is felt directly by the German people is located right in our own land, in the monopolies, big banks and the great landed estates.

The Nazi leaders are instructed to declare that they are fighting against the subjugation of Europe by England. No doubt, the English imperialists want to fetter the peoples of Europe; to fight against this would be a just cause. But do not the German imperialists likewise want to oppress the peoples of Europe and with perhaps even more brutal methods? Europe under the domination of the German monopoly capitalists would be a frightful prison of nations. To prevent the subjugation of the peoples of Europe means to put a stop to all imperialist aggressors irrespective of whether they are German or English imperialists.

The governing circles in Germany say: England and France have declared war against Germany; the German government did not want war with these countries. All the facts contradict this. The workers and peasants in Germany have thousands of proofs that the reactionary German capitalists and their Nazi Party wanted war against France and England.

The capitalists on both sides say, "Our people have been attacked." On both sides they call for "defense of the Fatherland." But on both sides, no worker wants to take a job away from his brother on the other side. No peasant wants to take away the land from the peasant on the other side of the border. Only the capitalists of both sides are out for loot. With the lying slogan of "defense of the Fatherland," the toilers are utilized in the basest manner for purposes of conquest by the capitalists on

both sides. But the soldiers, workers and peasants on both sides of the fronts of the imperialist states have a common interest: to put an end to the struggle against one another and to abolish the big capitalists on both sides for the preservation of peace and the security of the country.

IV.

The war propaganda of the English imperialists and of the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy who are in their service is just as false and fraudulent as that of the German imperialists. Like the German imperialists, they endeavor to conceal their real plans of conquest and war aims.

The English warmongers have set up three main false and fraudulent slogans:

First, they are purportedly waging the war in defense of the independence of small nations. In this brazen assertion, the English capitalists are plainly lying. To this day, English imperialism has cruelly oppressed many nations of hundreds of millions of people. English imperialism has always treated nations as objects of commerce. The bartering away of Austria and Czechoslovakia to German imperialism is still fresh in our memories. The Austrians and Czechs have experienced the monstrous betrayal of their nations at the hands of the present governing circles of England and France.

Secondly, the English imperialists are purportedly waging the war in order to free the world from Nazi tyranny and the German people from Hitler. As long as the German Nazis had the same political objectives as the Chamberlains, they were the best of friends.

The fact is that Hitler became and remained Reichschancellor with the benevolent support of English and French reaction. In the struggle between the toiling German people and Nazi tyranny throughout the years up to 1939, the English bourgeoisie was always on the side of Hitler, and whenever the inner difficulties became menacing for German capitalism it always handed the Hitler

regime victories in the sphere of foreign policy.

These gentlemen know very well that Hitler could have been overthrown without war. But the Messrs. Capitalists in England and France, with the help of the Amsterdam Trade Union International and the Second International, vigorously combatted the very forces in Germany that were working resolutely and systematically for the overthrow of the Hitler government at the cost of great sacrifices. In reality, the English-French imperialists are interested only in weakening German imperialism, in reducing it to a second-rate imperialism, acquiescent to England, and placing the capitalist dictatorship in Germany in the service of English interests. The English imperialists would like to make Germany, with or without Hitler, the watchdog against the Soviet Union.

Thirdly, the English capitalists claim to be conducting the war for the salvation of civilization, law and order. "Civilization" and "order" were no different in Germany at the time that Chamberlain and Hitler went arm in arm and Runciman initiated the surrender of Czechoslovakia. When the fascist murderers destroyed Guernica, murdered women and children in Madrid, that was in complete accord with Chamberlain's "civilization." The English bourgeoisie finds "civilization" and "order" entirely normal in fascist Poland, in Franco Spain, in semi-fascist Greece. Are these the "cultural achievements" for which the soldiers should fight? When the German toilers destroy the fascist "civilization" and the fascist "order" of the German capitalists, they will not want to replace it by any Chamberlain "culture." You don't use Beelzebub to drive out the devil.

It is to the interest of the German workers and peasants to abolish the fascist-capitalist tyranny. But do their interests coincide with the interests of the English-French bourgeoisie or can they go part of the way with these "opponents" of Hitler? No! The English and French bourgeoisie who are abolishing all distinctions in their own countries

between the bourgeois-democratic regime and the fascist dictatorship are enemies even of a bourgeois regime that would grant political rights to the German people. They are even more enemies of a people's revolution against Hitler, Thyssen and company. But the overthrow of the present regime alone will not be of much help to the German workers and peasants if the monopoly capitalist dictatorship remains.

That is why, in this war, the German workers and peasants have nothing in common with the English-French bourgeoisie and their Social-Democratic agents. But their interests coincide fully with those of the English-French workers and peasants.

V.

We Communists wanted to preserve peace for the German people. We considered the abolition of the fascist dictatorship and a complete change in Germany's foreign policy as the first requirement for this. We said to our fellow workers: Even if a bourgeois-democratic regime does not differ fundamentally from fascism in its class content—nevertheless, the bourgeois-democratic regime is still a better basis for conducting the struggle for the interests of the workers and toilers, for the preservation of peace and the final victory of the working class.

Since the political prerequisites for an immediate victorious struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat did not exist, we were prepared to make sweeping concessions to the bourgeois-democratic forces. We placed ourselves at the head of the struggle for a bourgeois-democratic regime that would grant the toiling people the widest possible political rights. With the utmost energy, we attempted to create a broad popular front movement for this struggle. Time and again we made the proposal to the Social-Democratic Party for the establishment of united action by both parties as the backbone of this popular front movement. But the Wels, Hilferdings, Stampfers, Geyers and company only replied by intensifying their anti-Communist

nist and anti-Soviet incitements. They rejected any common struggle against the fascist dictatorship and acted only as splitters. Thereby, they supported the Nazi regime and international reaction. Thereby, they became equally responsible for the new imperialist war.

Since the outbreak of the imperialist war, we have been confronted by an entirely new situation. The second imperialist war is the expression of the deepest crisis of capitalism. The prerequisites for a political crisis of the entire capitalist system are now maturing. To strive for a regime of bourgeois democracy under these conditions would mean to forego the historical opportunity which the war and defeat in the war give the proletariat in the struggle for socialism; it would mean saving the decayed capitalist system once more. For that reason, we Communists fight against all forms of bourgeois dictatorship in this situation.

The attitude of the German Social-Democratic leaders in the war is in accord with the general attitude of the leaders of the Second International. The role of these gentlemen consists in giving "guarantees" to the world bourgeoisie that this new imperialist war will not be followed by any new socialist revolutions.

The leaders of German Social-Democracy—Hilferding, Stampfer, Geyer and company—are prevented only by special circumstances from fighting openly this time at the side of their bourgeoisie. They cannot fight openly at the side of the German imperialist war party but they are fighting at their side ideologically in the war at home, in the war against the revolutionary proletariat. The German reactionary Social-Democratic leaders already at the beginning of the war are using the capitalist police language against the Communists.

They have sunk even lower than in 1914 and are working as agents in the pay of English and French imperialism, of course, not with the intention of fighting against German capitalism. They see in the English bourgeoisie the greatest guarantee against a revolution in

Germany. That is why they are on Chamberlain's side, so that, with the aid of English bayonets, they can prevent the German workers from driving out Thyssen, Krupp, Flick, Borsig and company together with the Nazi leaders. The Hilferdings, Stampfers, Geyers and company offer the best example of how class betrayal and betrayal of the national interests of the people coincide, in the epoch of decaying capitalism. Today, only the toilers headed by the working class can speak in the name of the nation. The German Social-Democratic agents of Chamberlain want to bring freedom and self-determination to the German people just as little as their employers; they want to subject it to the double yoke of a vassal state of exploitation by the German capitalists and English imperialists.

The Social-Democratic leadership had been preparing the ideological ground for their class betrayal even before the war. In the *Neuer Vorwärts*, these supporters of class compromise spoke consciously only of Hitler's despotism and denied the finance capitalist dictatorship. They wrote that the fascist regime oppresses all classes equally, that the "Rhenish entrepreneurs" were being terrorized by the regime. At the bottom of this whole deception lies only the counter-revolutionary aim of preventing the social revolution.

In the first imperialist World War, under the leadership of the revolutionary deputies of the workers' and peasants' councils, the proletariat in Germany forced the establishment of peace by a revolution. But in doing this, the German working class went only half way although they had the example of the Bolsheviks in Russia before them. For that reason, they were hurled back into the abyss. The class betrayal of the Social-Democratic Party was responsible for this.

Thus, after twenty-five years, the capitalists who were responsible for the first World War were once more able to push the German people into a bloody war. The German workers and peasants would gain nothing from a victory of the

German capitalists in this war. Such a victory would only mean prolonging and intensifying their enslavement. For that reason it is in the interest of all toilers not to support the war of the German imperialists in any way.

VI.

The toilers of Germany have one way of finally getting out of this frightful situation—the revolutionary way of struggle against capitalism. Without a fundamental change of the social relations, there can only be an imperialist peace, there will be new imperialist wars and the peoples will again not be freed from the scourge of war. To be free from the scourge of war, the workers and peasants must free themselves from the scourge of capitalism. Only the working class can be the decisive and leading force pointing the way in this struggle.

In the second imperialist war, therefore, the fighting unity of the working class must be established. That is the conclusion from all the lessons of twenty-five years. But the German working class cannot be victorious over the capitalists who are responsible for the war and their hirelings in industrial Germany, if they do not form a firm bloc with the toiling peasantry. The great, noble, common aim of forcing peace gives the workers and peasants a common tie during the imperialist war. From this common tie in the struggle for peace can grow the common will to expropriate the capitalists and big agrarians who are responsible for the war, and thereby strike imperialism at its roots. Factories, banks and land in the hands of the monopoly capitalists and the big agrarians are not only the source of exploitation, oppression and hunger but also of imperialist war.

In order to wage the struggle against the war, the progressive workers, peasants and soldiers, the artisans and intellectuals will undoubtedly proceed to create illegal organizations everywhere, whether in the form of delegates, committees or in other forms which unite

all forces in the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of conditions in Germany.

They will regard as a necessary prerequisite of victory the continuous exposure of those responsible for the war, their demagoguery of "defense of the fatherland," their methods of chauvinist incitement, their lies and fraudulent maneuvers and their imperialist war aims.

The progressive workers, peasants and soldiers will not forget that the struggle of the masses, even for the slightest gain, and every small victory over the capitalist state apparatus, whether it is a question of wages, bread or democratic rights, are of extraordinary usefulness for the formation of the great army of struggle.

The revolutionary workers will finally impart to the broadest masses the great revolutionary perspectives of the victory of socialism as the only road to real peace, happiness and security.

Today the situation is different from that in 1914. Opportunism no longer dominates the working class. At that time, the masses were in the grip of the swindle of "civil peace." Today, the war began in a situation of sharpened class struggle in all capitalist countries. In France, at the beginning of the war, the jails and prisons were filled with revolutionary workers and their leaders. With the Social-Democratic warmongers howling for joy, the French bourgeoisie began its intensified campaign against the working class by outlawing the Communist Party. In Germany, already at the beginning of the war, the bourgeoisie is resorting to the fighting methods of civil war. Executions of their own countrymen and Czech fighters for national liberation have already been carried out. That is an expression of the horror of the capitalist war regime but also a sign of its weakness.

The capitalist terrorist state apparatus of the bourgeoisie which hitherto confronted the German workers in life primarily in the form of the labor front, trustees, labor jurisdiction, the Gestapo and fascist storm formations, which confronted the peasants with the compul-

sory apparatus of the Reich Food Commission, which confronted the small business people with the state compulsory trade associations—and in which all felt the whip of decrees, orders and penalty systems—now confronts the workers and peasants with the naked force of military civil war actions. From this procedure of the state apparatus, the toilers recognize more and more the unbridgeable gap between them and the bourgeois apparatus of force.

The imperialist German bourgeoisie has turned Germany into a prison of nations by its brutal subjugation of foreign nations and their forcible inclusion into the German state system. The workers and peasants in the old Reich, and the nationally oppressed peoples forcibly incorporated into the Reich, have a common enemy, German imperialism, the German big capitalists and big agrarians. The German workers and peasants cannot liberate themselves from the yoke of exploitation and oppression if they do not support the liberation struggle of the oppressed nations against the foreign rule. Only from the active support of this struggle will a fighting alliance arise between the German toilers and the nationally oppressed peoples, the Austrians, Czechs and Slovaks. This fighting alliance is the necessary guarantee for the victory of all.

The economy which had already been ruined everywhere by the monopoly capitalists will suffer still more horrible destruction from the war. If the capitalists establish their power once more on the ruins of a wrecked economy, then the toiling masses in the capitalist states that will eventually be victorious, as well as in the capitalist states that will eventually be defeated, will fall victim to unparalleled slavery. With the maintenance of the capitalist system the living conditions of the present and future generations would be frightful. In order to prevent this, it is up to the working class of all capitalist countries to put an end to the imperialist war in a revolutionary way.

The German Nazi leaders, the agents

and representatives of German finance capital, say that at the end of the war "National-Socialism" of their type will exist in Europe. With phrases about socialism, they want to deceive primarily the English and French workers. They can no longer mislead the German, Austrian and Czech workers with this. The German workers know that the system of "National-Socialism" is the very opposite of socialism.

There have been agents of the bourgeoisie before who glorified the measures of the bourgeoisie with phrases about "socialism in the making." Already in the last imperialist war, Social-Democratic leaders presented the war economy and the food-card system as socialism. After the war, they passed off the veiled dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in the form of bourgeois parliamentarism as socialism. They called the concentration process of capital, the creation of monopolies and trusts, "peaceful development to socialism," glorified a Stinnes as a champion of socialism.

When, in 1931-1932, the broad masses in Germany were seized by a will to struggle against capital, the Nazi leaders confused millions with their fraudulent propaganda for "National-Socialism" and strengthened the position of the capitalists.

No, the workers have not forgotten that after the fraudulent campaigns about "socialism," capitalist exploitation and oppression kept on mounting to the point of naked terrorist dictatorship. The Nazi leaders now purportedly want to fight for socialism in Europe? But the German workers will ask: where is your socialism in Germany? Is it not proper to fight for real socialism at home?

Who owns the big plants in Germany, the people or the capitalists? Who owns the banks, the finance kings or the people? Who owns the big estates, the princes, big agrarians and the newly-rich Nazis or the peasants? Who rules in Germany, the big bourgeoisie or the toilers? Who has political rights, the toiling people or the capitalists? Every-

thing in Germany—property, power, rights—belongs to a thin layer of big capitalists. This fact is supposed to be covered up when the Nazi leaders speak of “National-Socialism.”

How can you speak of socialism as long as Communists, the most determined fighters for socialism, are languishing in concentration camps? As long as the workers have no rights in the factories? As long as the capitalist “factory leaders” have unlimited command and rake in the profits?

And have the German imperialists, perhaps, annexed Austria and Czechoslovakia in order to bring socialism to the people there? They have subjected them to the double yoke of exploitation by their own and the German monopoly capitalists. Have the German monopoly capitalists strangled the people’s republic in Spain so that Franco could realize socialism? Have the German capitalists conquered the Poland of the Pans and the Schlachtsitzes in order to bring socialism to the Polish people? Merely to pose these questions is sufficient to expose the fraud of the Nazi leaders concerning their “socialist mission.”

The toiling Polish people knew that it could expect only national and social oppression from the armies of the German imperialists. That is why they met them with bitter hatred and resistance. They

themselves strove for liberation from their oppressors. That is why the Ukrainians and Byelo-Russians immediately greeted the Red Army when it marched in.

The Red Army came as an army of liberation from national oppression, as an army of socialism. Behind their lines, oppression and exploitation ceased. The workers became masters of the factories, the peasants masters of the land. The Red Army came as an army of progressive culture. Behind their lines a new cultural life unfolded. While the Red Army was still advancing, the workers, peasants and intellectuals behind their lines were already deliberating, in their newly created democratic self-administrative bodies, on the erection of schools, clubs, libraries, clinics and the creation of organizations and newspapers. Thus happened what for every bourgeois army is an inconceivable miracle; with every step forward, the Red Army became stronger because the toilers, the workers and peasants immediately formed groups to join them in the fight.

The toilers of the world joined in the enthusiasm and joy of the liberated Ukrainians and Byelo-Russians.

The capitalist world has become smaller, the socialist world has become larger. That is a victory of the world proletariat and that means the strengthening of the working class in all countries.

The Bankruptcy of Imperialist Poland

BY S. DZERZHINSKAYA

THE bloody war, into which the sorely tried peoples of Poland were plunged by the Polish capitalists and big landowners, has led to an unprecedentedly speedy collapse and complete disintegration of the Polish state.

To understand the causes that led to the bankruptcy of the "Great Power" Poland, it is necessary to recall the historical conditions under which the reconstruction of Poland as a state took place at the end of the first imperialist war. The supporters of Pilsudski and their collaborators, the people of the Polish Socialist Party (P.P.S.), often boasted that Pilsudski and his legions had freed Poland from a foreign yoke in a national war of liberation and had won its independence. This fairy tale served to deceive the Polish people. Actually, the liberation of Poland from the yoke of the Russian bourgeoisie and big landowners and German imperialists took place as a result of the great October Socialist Revolution which proclaimed the right of all nations oppressed by tsarism, hence also Poland, to self-determination. The liberation of Poland from a foreign yoke was also made possible by the revolution of 1918 in Austria and Germany. But it was the Polish capitalists and big landowners and the imperialists of England and France that took advantage of this liberation of the Polish people.

Lenin said in 1920:

"The Versailles Treaty made a buffer state out of Poland which is to protect Germany from coming into contact with the communism of Soviet Russia and

which the Entente regards as a weapon against the Bolsheviks." *

The Polish state was not created in the interest of the Polish people but in the interest of the imperialist victors, as a result of the forcible repartition of the world after the imperialist war. The Polish state was erected as a barrier and outpost of West-European capitalism against the land of Soviets.

"Poland regarded herself as the barrier of the Western states against the U.S.S.R.," Comrade Stalin said at the Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party. "All and sundry imperialists looked upon Poland as the vanguard in the event of a military attack upon the U.S.S.R." **

The territory of Poland had to correspond to the counter-revolutionary task assigned to it, and for that reason it was constructed not only at the expense of Germany, defeated in the imperialist war of 1914-18 (after the Versailles Treaty Poland received the Corridor which divided Germany into two parts, as well as other German areas), but also by enslaving millions of peasants and workers of Western Ukraine and Byelo-Russia. The artificially inflated "Great Power" Poland had its origin in the robbery of foreign countries.

The imperialist idea of a "Great Power status" for Poland corresponded completely to the interests of the Polish

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXV, pp. 498-99, Russian edition.

** J. V. Stalin, *Socialism Victorious*, p. 19, International Publishers, New York.

ruling classes; it became the basis of its domestic and foreign policy. But the real interests of the Polish people, as well as the interests of the other peoples living in Poland, called for the establishment of a state of an altogether different type and for an altogether different relationship to the land of Soviets. However, the real interests of the peoples enslaved by the Polish ruling classes were sacrificed to world capital.

The Polish imperialists, who had set up a regime of the worst kind of reaction inside the country, already tried to realize the plans of English-French war provocations back in 1920 by brazenly attacking the young Soviet Republic.

Poland's attack on the Soviet Union ended in a complete fiasco. The counter-revolutionary troops of the Polish *Shlyakhta** were smashed by the Red Army which freed the Byelo-Russians, Ukrainians, Poles and Jews from the yoke of the Polish Pans and reached as far as Warsaw. But as a result of a number of circumstances and especially because of the intensive support of the Entente, the Polish imperialists succeeded in getting back on their feet.

The Peace of Riga brought a considerable part of Byelo-Russia and the Ukraine under Polish domination. Eight million Ukrainians and three million Byelo-Russians, blood brothers of the peoples of the Soviet Union, were subjected to the yoke of the Polish Pans and for twenty years had to bear endless tortures and suffering. Thus, the "Great Power" Poland was created artificially, without regard for the interests of the national minorities and of the Polish people itself, at the expense of the peoples of the Soviet Union as well as at the expense of Germany.

* * *

Poland continued its anti-Soviet course even after the conclusion of the war against the Soviet Union and at every

opportunity showed that it was the tool of the anti-Soviet conspiracies of the European imperialists. Supported by the English and French imperialists, in their lust to become a Great Power the Polish imperialists dreamed of conquering the Soviet Ukraine and Soviet Byelo-Russia, advanced the claim to mastery over the Baltic states, nurtured plans for a conquest of Lithuania, claimed the leading role in the Little Entente, aspired to expansion in Central Europe, participated in the attack against Czechoslovakia, and supported Slovak separatism, etc.

In order to prepare the way for the realization of these plans, the rulers of Poland stirred up a savage Polish chauvinism. Inside the country, this found its expression in a frightful reign of terror against the oppressed nationalities—the Ukrainians, Byelo-Russians, Jews—and in foreign policy it was directed against the Lithuanians, the Germans, the Czechs and culminated in unprecedented incitement against the Soviet Union.

This patched-up Polish state, which paraded the feigned military strength of a "Great Power" to the outside world, was the center of constant conspiracies and incitements in Eastern and Central Europe and every possible provocation and insane plot against the Soviet Union. Thus, for example, on March 22, 1939, Mazkiewicz, the editor of the Vilna newspaper *Slovo*, talked himself into revealing the intentions of the ruling circles of Poland by saying that "the Soviet Union must be broken up into a number of states . . . or supply territories for colonization." For that reason Mazkiewicz advocated the thesis of a "French-German-Polish agreement against the Soviet Union."

The Polish rulers perpetrated countless crimes against the cause of peace, against the interests of other peoples and the interests of the Polish people themselves. They helped to reduce the League of Nations to impotence. In 1938 they launched their notorious extortionist attack on Lithuania with the intention of seizing that country. During the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia they

* *Shlyakhta*—Polish for squire, petty aristocratic landowner, nationalist, insular and narrow-minded.—Ed.

also seized a part of the loot (Teschen-Silesia).

Under the Polish-German alliance, Poland armed itself even more intensively than ever for war against the Soviet Union. And even after the break-up of the German-Polish alliance, Poland did not drop its anti-Soviet attitude. The negotiations for the establishment of a firm peace front were also wrecked in part by the attitude of the Polish government; Poland rejected military aid by the Soviet Union.

When the nefarious plot of the English and French imperialists—to unleash war in order to involve the Soviet Union in an armed conflict with Germany—was exposed and collapsed, when the non-aggression pact between the Soviet Union and Germany was concluded, the Polish capitalists and big landlords, inspired by England and France, drove the peoples of Poland into war.

The Polish bourgeoisie which unleashed this war was not thinking of defending the independence of the Polish people; on the contrary, their intention was to participate in the struggle for the repartition of Europe and the world (Poland made no secret of its claim to colonies). It was no accident that the official organ of the Ministry of War, *Polska Sbroina*, wrote in July: "Not only do we have something to defend; we also have something to conquer!"

Conquest of East Prussia and Slovakia, subjugation of Czechs and Slovaks under Polish rule, creation of a Polish state as the center of a so-called Franco-Slavic bloc against the Soviet Union—these were the real, grandiose plans of conquest which led to the Polish people being plunged into a war with all its horrors.

It was for *these* "Great Power" aims that the incompetent, cowardly and traitorous Polish generals drove the Polish people into war against the German army. It was for *these* aims of conquest that the Polish *Shlyakhta* wanted to drag the peoples, oppressed by Poland, into the war, peoples who have been dreaming for twenty years of their liberation from the Polish yoke and of union with their free Ukrainian and

Byelo-Russian brothers in the Soviet Union.

Not even two weeks were needed to produce a complete military collapse and the unparalleled bankruptcy of the entire Polish state. The Polish people can only have profound hate and curses for their bankrupt rulers who for twenty years have been stirring up hostility against the Soviet Union and hoping to frustrate the natural friendship of the peoples of Poland with the happy peoples of the great Soviet Union.

* * *

The bankruptcy and collapse of the Polish state, which was a tool in the hands of world capital, were due to profound inner causes.

Poland was a bourgeois state with strong survivals of feudalism. Beside the reactionary imperialist bourgeoisie in Poland, there were numerous big landowners with gigantic holdings who exploited the agricultural workers by capitalist methods but also resorted to medieval forms of oppression and exploitation of the peasantry. In addition, there were the great Catholic princes of the Church who had a far-flung and closely knit apparatus at their disposal and carried on the stupefaction of the masses with great experience.

On the other hand, Poland was a country with a large proletariat that possessed glorious traditions in the common struggle with the Russian proletariat against tsarism, and remembered the revolutionary council of workers' deputies which had been set up in 1918 in the Dombrova district and in Lublin, the struggle of the toilers against the imperialist war that was waged against the Soviet Union in 1920, the solidarity with the Red Army which came to Poland at that time, and the Cracow uprising of 1923.

And Poland was also the country of the revolutionary peasantry which understood the necessity of a common struggle with the proletariat against the big landowners and capitalists, a peasantry which in 1937 rose against the landowners in Western Ukraine and in

West Byelo-Russia and carried through a general political strike.

Both classes, the working class and the peasantry, were weighed down by a heavy yoke of political oppression and economic exploitation in Poland. Terrific unemployment, increasing from year to year, was a veritable scourge for the workers of Poland. Ever since 1934, the unemployed had been compelled to perform forced labor on so-called "public works" in return for a beggar's wage. There were compulsory labor camps for the youth. The wages of the workers of Poland were considerably lower than the wages of the workers of Western Europe. More than 90 per cent received less than the starvation minimum set up by the Polish government. Defrauding and cheating the workers by paying wages in kind or by orders on the factory store were widely practised in Poland.

During the economic crisis of 1929-1932, the workers of Poland were robbed of their scant social gains and they were never restored to them, despite the improvement in the economic situation later. The eight-hour day was almost completely abolished, pay for overtime was reduced, the vacation benefits were lessened, unemployment insurance practically liquidated, sick benefit insurance rendered worse, and medical aid practically taken away from the workers. The social insurance funds built up out of the deductions from scant wages were stolen by state officials and the government. The workers suffered from the worst kind of housing and lived in tiny rooms, cellars and sheds.

The *Dzennik Ludowi*, a newspaper of the Socialist Party of Poland, wrote on May 16, 1939:

"In the center of the capital, on Pilsudski street, the main thoroughfare, we observe an unusual scene: A broken bed, an old trunk and a small stool have been serving as a dwelling for the past six weeks for a 55-year-old unemployed worker, his sick wife and a lame twenty-year-old daughter who had been thrown out on the street. The 'dwelling' is 80 centimeters high and two meters long; it is worse than a dog house. The hut

from which these people had been driven out was removed 'in order not to spoil the panorama.'"

As is well known, the hangman of the peoples of Poland, Prime Minister Skladkowski, introduced "culture" into Poland by removing the slum quarters and throwing the people out on the street, just as the hungry, barefooted, ragged, illiterate peasants were forced to paint the huts and fences in their villages so that their wretched appearance would not spoil the view of the lords.

The employers' systematic violation of the union contracts, won by the workers through hard-fought strikes, compulsory arbitration, government control over the unions, threats and terrorization of the unions, inveigling the workers into fascist trade unions by promising higher wages and cultivation of the unstable elements by the Polish secret police, persecution of the Communists, the revolutionary trade unions and the trade union functionaries working for unity of action of the working class, virtual prohibition of strikes, clubbing of strikers and demonstrators—such, in brief outline, is the picture of the living conditions of the workers and their conditions of struggle in capitalist Poland, which was a veritable hell.

The situation of the toiling peasantry was no better. Sixteen thousand Polish landowners had grabbed 45 per cent of the entire land; 2,000 of the largest landowners, each owning 1,000 hectares and over, controlled over one-fifth of the entire land of Poland, the West Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia. According to the census of 1927, 44 per cent of all peasant households in Poland had no horse and 14 per cent had no cow.

Land-poverty, parceling of the land, semi-feudal exploitation of the peasants (labor services and *sharvarka*, obligatory road construction, utter lack of rights of the peasants and agricultural workers), a "land reform" which ruined the middle and poor peasants, predatory "land arrangements," burdening the peasantry with ruinous, unbearable taxes, prices for agricultural products

declining from year to year, high monopoly prices for the articles necessary for mass consumption by the peasants, enormous indebtedness of the peasants, misery, hunger, backwardness, illiteracy, lack of culture and, on top of this, from six to eight million "superfluous" people in the villages who were unable to find work—such was the picture of boundless suffering of the toiling peasantry in the Poland of the Pans. Thus, for example, a peasant from the Lanzusk district in the voyevod of Lvov (Lemberg) who owned two farms at two different places, described his life as follows in 1936:

"But now we must do without everything. We don't use sugar except perhaps on high holidays and we economize on salt since it is very dear. The women carry the fire from house to house in iron pots and I break every match into two, sometimes four parts. Kerosene and lamps are a luxury in our village. The huts are illuminated only with pine splinters."

The peasants in the Poland of the Pans went barefoot and in rags. The Pilsudski organ *Kurier Poranny* wrote in 1935:

"The following characters out of everyday life are indicative of our village: The father who carries the children to school in the winter because he has the only pair of boots in the family and the children who spend the whole day in sacks filled with finely cut straw because otherwise they would freeze without clothes in the unheated hut."

Poland was no national state but a state of nationalities; 40 per cent of its population were non-Polish. Ukrainians, Byelo-Russians, Jews, Lithuanians and Germans were weighed down under a cruel national yoke during the twenty years of existence of the Polish state. Poland was a prison of nations. In this respect, it was also a worthy successor of tsarist Russia and imperial Germany which oppressed the Poles for a century and a half. Western Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia were transformed into Polish colonies devoid of any rights and

exploited in a predatory manner by the Polish ruling classes.

Western Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia served the Polish ruling classes as sources of raw materials (wood, petroleum) as well as markets for the sale of commodities produced in the Central and Western districts. The Polish government plundered the natural resources of Western Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia but used every means at its disposal to prevent the development of a local industry. The exploitation of the workers here was even worse than in Poland. The median wage of a worker in the voyevods of Vilna, Polessie and Novogrodek amounted to only 56 per cent, 45 per cent and 35 per cent of the average wage in the Warsaw voyevod. The wage of the agricultural workers in these voyevods was 24.7 per cent lower than the wage of the agricultural workers in Poland proper.

Semi-impoveryished small peasant farms constituted 80 per cent of all the farms in Western Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia. At the same time, the largest landed estates of the Polish princes and counts were to be found here, the Radziwills, Sapiehas, Zamoiskis, Potozkis, Czartoryskis who owned tens and hundreds of thousands of acres of land.

The Polish ruling classes pursued a policy of colonization in Western Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia by transplanting so-called "colonists" there, that is, handing out large parcels of land free of charge to former Polish officers, subordinate officers and soldiers who were sons of kulaks. By these measures, the Polish capitalists and large landowners created a reliable support for themselves in the villages for the struggle against the revolutionary movement of the Ukrainian and Byelo-Russian peasants and in the event of a war against the Soviet Union which they were systematically preparing all along.

Hand in hand with the intensive economic exploitation of the Western Ukrainian and Byelo-Russian workers and peasants, the ruling circles of Poland pursued a policy of forcible Polonization of the Ukrainians and Byelo-

Russians. The Poles had the entire administrative apparatus in their hands and, all the way down the line, the ruling language was Polish. Only Poles could be officials and judges. The Ukrainian and Byelo-Russian cultural institutions and schools were almost entirely wiped out. The eight million Ukrainians and three million Byelo-Russians did not have a single high school. Illiteracy was considerably higher in Western Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia than in Poland, and, for example, amounted to from 50 to 71 per cent among the peasant women (voyevod of Novogradok, Polessie), even according to official Polish data.

The Ukrainian and Byelo-Russian press, literature and art were brutally persecuted and suppressed. The national oppression of the Jews in Poland assumed particularly outrageous forms, reminiscent of the Black Hundreds. "De-Judaization" of industry, handicraft, commerce, the social and cultural life of the country, unbridled anti-Semitic incitement, percentage limitations (*numerus clausus*) for Jews in schools and high schools, "Ghetto benches" in the schools and universities (Jews were allowed to sit only on the rear benches) and finally continuous pogroms—such was the national policy of the Polish bourgeoisie and large landowners toward the Jewish population.

In order to hold down the oppressed national minorities and the toiling masses of Poland and to make the chains of bourgeois-landlord slavery secure, a corresponding reactionary internal regime was required. During the entire twenty years of the existence of the artificially created Polish state, the Communist Party and its press was strictly outlawed. Every newspaper with even the slightest oppositional orientation toward the reactionary regime was immediately subjected to draconic censorship. The masses of people were excluded from any participation whatsoever in the Sejm and Senate. All power was concentrated in the hands of the President, who was responsible only "before God and history" for the conduct of his af-

fairs and in those of "the highest leader" and worthy successor to Pilsudski, the traitor, coward and butcher of peoples, Smigly-Rydz.

In the Polish government itself were such stranglers of freedom as Skladkowski and the notorious agent of diverse espionage services, Foreign Minister Beck. The entire state apparatus of Poland was rotten from top to bottom with thievery, bribery and moral disintegration.

Even the faintest stirrings of the struggle of the toiling masses and the national minorities were cruelly suppressed. The prisons and concentration camps in Beresa-Kartuska were filled with Communists and numerous other revolutionary-minded workers and peasants. The most refined and inhuman tortures were used against the prisoners, especially against the Communists. They went so far as to pour gasoline over them and burn them alive. Shooting of participants in strikes and demonstrations, long-term prison sentences and death sentences against Communists, punitive expeditions and bloody "pacifications" (suppression campaigns) against popular uprisings—such were the methods by which the Polish reactionary bourgeoisie and large landowners maintained their tottering power.

The day after the outbreak of the Polish-German war, the Polish government proclaimed a law on military tribunals which was aimed against the revolutionary workers and peasants. Included among the "crimes" which were to come under the jurisdiction of the military tribunals were: "Participation in criminal public meetings," "criminal meetings and societies," call to general strike, call to stoppage of food supply to the cities (that is, peasant strikes), etc. "Crimes" which formerly received five-year sentences in the regular courts could now be punished by the military tribunals with a death sentence, to be carried out within twenty-four hours.

The most faithful lackeys of the bloody Polish rulers, the worst enemies of the toiling masses of Poland, are the mercenary agents of the Polish and

foreign bourgeoisie at the head of the P.P.S. and the Stronnitzvo Ludowe.

From the very beginning, the heads of the Socialist Party of Poland pursued a policy of betraying the Polish proletariat and people. It was they who, by their chauvinist propaganda, tried to sow distrust and hostility among the Polish people toward the vanguard of the proletariat, the great Russian working class. It was they who, in 1918, when soviets arose in Poland and the Polish bourgeoisie trembled before the proletarian socialist revolution, saved capitalism in Poland and formed the government of the "Socialists" Moraczewski and Daszynski which was called the "People's Government" in order to deceive the masses. In this way, the heads of the Socialist Party of Poland performed lackey services in the establishment of the imperialist anti-Soviet Polish state.

Together with Witos and the other leaders of the Stronnitzvo Ludowe, the heads of the P.P.S. helped the Polish and foreign bourgeoisie to plunge the Polish people into the counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union in 1920. They likewise helped Pilsudski in 1926 in his fascist coup d'etat. They have always paralyzed the struggle of the Polish proletariat. They have resisted the establishment of a proletarian united front and a people's front, broken strikes and helped the bourgeoisie to stir up national strife among the proletarians of the various nationalities. They danced attendance upon the Polish secret police, waged a fierce struggle against the Polish Communists, slandered the Soviet Union day in and day out, supported in every way the policy of the Pilsudskites which aimed to thwart collective security and rejected the assistance of the Soviet Union and thus helped the Polish bourgeoisie to plunge the peoples of Poland into the bloody imperialist war.

When Poland saw itself face to face with the danger of war, and even up to the outbreak of the war itself, the heads of the Socialist Party of Poland—all the Nedzialkowskis, Czapinskis, Pushaks, Kwapinskis, Stanczyks, Zarembas, and

company—increased their campaign of slander against the Soviet Union. They relinquished all "opposition" to the government, supported all of its measures in preparation for war, renounced the class struggle and carried on unbridled chauvinist agitation. They found support among the heads of the Stronnitzvo Ludowe, the Witos, Ratajs, etc., who were playing the same game among the peasantry. None of them ceased their furious incitement against the Soviet Union even during the war.

Despite all persecutions and repressive measures, despite the traitorous role of the heads of the Socialist Party of Poland and the Stronnitzvo Ludowe, despite the difficult situation in which the Communist Party of Poland was placed, the labor and peasant movement in Poland developed and grew stronger and became a menace to the reactionary government of the Pilsudskites and to the state of the bourgeoisie and large landowners.

The reactionary, anti-people's, anti-Soviet and anti-Communist foreign and domestic policy of the Polish ruling classes has turned against imperialist Poland itself. The workers, peasants and oppressed peoples, languishing under the yoke of the Polish bourgeoisie and large landowners, saw nothing to fight for. This was the main reason for the military weakness of the Polish imperialist state and its bankruptcy.

The military weakness of Poland was so great that it collapsed like a house of cards in about ten days. Entire divisions, including their commands, allowed themselves to be captured. Hundreds of airplanes left the country without fighting. Entire regiments fled from the country. The Polish government fell apart and, with its President, Moscicki, shamefully fled to Rumania. After the Polish government, the high command of the Polish army, headed by Rydz-Smigly, also fled to Rumania. And together with them, the "chief spiritual shepherd" of the Polish people, Cardinal Chlond, the head of the Catholic church in Poland, also fled. In their flight abroad, the Polish government dragged

along the people's treasury created by the blood and sweat of the workers and peasants of Poland, Western Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia, the gold and foreign exchange reserve of the Polish state.

* * *

On September 17, 1939, at the command of the Soviet government, the glorious workers' and peasants' Red Army crossed the border in order to protect the life and property of the population of Western Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia.

The population of the villages and cities of the Western Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia enthusiastically received the fighters and commanders of the Red Army as their liberators. The workers and peasants, the intellectuals of the cities and villages, followed by their children, all marched out several kilometers under red banners to meet the approaching columns of the Red Army and greeted their liberators, the commanders and fighters of the Red Army. The villages and cities erected triumphal arches for the Red Army, adorned them with pictures of the leaders of the Soviet government and the Bolshevik Party and draped them with red flags. Affectionately, the inhabitants surrounded the fighters and commanders, embraced and kissed them with tears in their eyes, thanked them for their liberation and overwhelmed them with questions about the Soviet Union.

In the village of Krivichani, in West Byelo-Russia, an old peasant woman, Akulich, with tears of joy, said to the fighters of the Red Army: "Dear friends, we have been waiting for you for twenty years. Thank God, you have come at last."

The old peasant Muchash in Western Ukraine came to the fighters of a rifle company of the Red Army. He said: "I am seventy years old and I know that there is a man in Moscow, the father of all oppressed, who thinks of us and takes care of us. I know his name. It is Joseph Stalin."

A seventy-six-year-old man, the Byelo-Russian Vladimir Mikhailovich Doloma-

tov, from the village of Prshchani, came forty kilometers to the staff of a company of the Red Army. He brought a letter which his family of eleven people had written. This letter read: "For twenty years we have lived under the yoke of the Pans and did not have the right to open our mouths, but now you, our brothers, have extended your hand to us for which we offer our heartfelt thanks to the dear Comrades Stalin, Molotov, Voroshilov and the entire Soviet people."

At Grodno, the toilers of this city gathered together all the boats and organized the transport of the Red Army men across the Niemen River. Jacob Stanislavov and his wife Xenia worked on two boats. Xenia made the trip twice and carried twenty-six Red Army men across the river. An enemy bullet struck her down as she completed her third trip. The Red Army men caught Xenia Stanislavov as she fell. Dying she said: "I wanted to see happy people with my own eyes. Beat the Pans; they are in every house on the other bank! And tell Comrade Stalin I am dying gladly for the brothers and sisters of the workers who have been enslaved by the Polish Pans up till now." The fighters laid the body of the woman on the grass and went into the battle.

After he had completed the transport of the Red Army men, Jacob Stanislavov seized a gun and joined them in the battle against the Polish officers.

In the liberated cities and villages of Western Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia, provisional administrations are being formed by representatives of the local population and the Red Army, workers' guards are set up to preserve revolutionary order and peasant committees are being established in the villages.

The provisional city administrations are organizing the normal commerce and the work of industrial and communal plants and of the railroads, are opening up schools where the native language is used. The factory workers are organizing workers' control in the plants. The peasant committees in the villages are registering all property and

land that formerly belonged to the landowners and, in many places, the distribution of the land and stock of the landowners among the peasants has already begun.

The toilers of West Byelo-Russia and the Western Ukraine know that, as free Soviet citizens, they will soon realize their right to work in joy and happiness—not for parasites, landowners and capitalists, but for themselves, for their liberated people.

And, furthermore, the Polish people do not have the slightest interest in

re-establishing the old state of the landowners and capitalists which not only oppressed foreign peoples but also turned the existence of the Polish toilers into a living hell. No Polish worker or peasant desires the return of the corrupt, dishonorable and traitorous parasites who led Poland to ruin. The Polish workers and peasants are determined to join the toilers of other countries in the common struggle to throw off the yoke of oppression and to throw all their energies into the struggle for the victory of socialism in Poland.

The Second Imperialist War and the Youth

BY MICHAL WOLF

THE devastating flames of the second imperialist war are sweeping over capitalist Europe. For a second time in the course of twenty-five years, blood-thirsty capitalism has plunged the peoples of Europe into the horrors of war. The powerful land of socialism, the Soviet Union, the working class of the entire world and their youth have carried on a stubborn struggle against this war. The war has broken out against their will. The responsibility for the outbreak of the war falls on the heads of the English and French, Polish and German imperialists. They are the incendiaries of this conflagration, the flames of which have already begun their work of destruction.

Now the working class and the toiling youth of capitalist Europe stand in the midst of the fire of this second imperialist war. To stand at the side of these bleeding youth, to help them find the correct road in the struggle against the imperialist war, is today one of the most important tasks of the working class which is fighting against imperialist war and capitalism.

The working class youth do not know the horrors and terrors of the first imperialist war. At that time, in the years 1914-1918, today's youth were born. They saw the light of day under the murderous music of cannon and machine guns of that war. Beside the cradles of these youth stood weeping mothers who could not quiet their children, stood wounded and crippled fathers. During these frightful years, proletarian parents

pressed their children closer to their hearts in the quiet hope that this would be the last war, that their sons and daughters would live to see better times.

These same proletarian mothers must now bid farewell to their own sons, born during the years of the first imperialist war, because their sons, as once their husbands, must march off to the second imperialist war. These youth, plunged into the catastrophe of war, do not know the horrors of imperialist war. They learned of it only later from books, from films, from the lips of their mothers and fathers.

Out of stories and books, the war and post-war generation tried to get a picture of the horrors of the World War of 1914-1918, of the battle at Verdun, Langemark, Tannenberg and of the Marne, where hundreds of thousands of young workers sacrificed their lives on the bloody altar of imperialist war. In their youthful imaginations arose the horrible visions of gas war on the Western front where thousands of French and German youth were suffocated and poisoned while defending the interests of imperialism. The horrors of the first imperialist war, whose shadow continued to hang over their lives, filled the hearts of the youth with hatred for the imperialist war, for its instigators.

The youth of today did not want to become the generation of the second conflagration. They preferred a free, creative life to a "heroic death" in the interests of the capitalists and a small

handful of bankers. However, the masses of proletarian youth were not opposed to war for purely pacifist reasons. In the fire of the great struggle which the working class has waged against its enemies in recent years, in the great popular movement for the support of the Spanish Republic, the youth learned to discriminate between wars and wars. They began to understand that there are just and unjust wars. The enthusiastic movement of the youth for support of the Spanish Republic, for the aid of the heroic fighting Chinese people, the enthusiastic participation of the youth of many lands in the ranks of the glorious International Brigade and their heroic deeds at the fronts of the Spanish Republic, show that ever-greater sections of the youth are prepared to support a just war and also, with weapon in hand, to take part in it.

The youth did not combat war in general but the war which is waged not in the interests of the peoples but against these interests. In the fire of these great struggles, the hearts of the youth, above all, the working class youth, are filled with hatred and aversion for fascism as well as for the English and French capitalists who shamefully threw the freedom and independence of a number of small nations into the maw of German imperialism.

The young people to whom freedom is dear saw that Chamberlain and Daladier not only gave no help to the just war of the Spanish people but, on the contrary, assisted the aggressor against the Spanish Republic which was fighting for its freedom. The youth were extremely disillusioned by the base policies of these "democrats"; they began to feel that these "democrats" were secretly weaving nefarious plots. But their intentions were still not understood clearly enough by the youth. They were skeptical of the correctness of their policy, they acted with extreme distrust towards them, but beyond this, the youth had not gone as yet.

The working class and toiling youth

were in the midst of such political changes when the second imperialist war broke out in capitalist Europe. The youth were robbed of the possibility of learning the truth about the cause of the war, about the policies their governments pursued just prior to the war. By means of draconic censorship and a state of siege, the war provocateurs keep the youth in complete darkness. Like a heavy fog which makes seeing difficult, lies and deception, disseminated by the imperialists and their "Socialist" lackeys for the purpose of confusing the peoples and their youth, surround the youth. The light of truth must penetrate this darkness in order to expose to the youth of the entire world all the imperialist war provocateurs and their aims.

To create clarity, to enlighten the youth regarding the truth, the real aims of the war and its instigators, this is now the most honorable task of the revolutionary youth movement, of every revolutionary worker in the capitalist countries.

* * *

What most confuses the youth in the capitalist countries is the deceitful slogan that England and France are allegedly waging the war against fascism and for freedom. The youth of these countries do not doubt for a minute that Germany is waging the war for imperialist aims, for the conquest of new territories, for dominance in the capitalist world. But the great majority of the youth is very unclear concerning the real aims of England and France. Many young people enter the war with the conviction that they are fighting for a just cause. The imperialists have succeeded in deceiving and confusing large masses of youth in England, France and other countries thanks to the professional betrayers of the interests of the working class among the leadership of the Second International à la Leon Blum, Greenwood, Chochoy, Huddleston. It is only with their help that the imperialists have been able to conceal temporarily the truth concerning their war aims.

These highly-skilled liars and deceiv-

ers utilize the inadequate knowledge of the present-day youth concerning the history of the outbreak of the first imperialist war.

Therefore, let history speak.

Today, no one will dispute the fact that the World War of 1914-1918 was an imperialist war. But did the imperialists openly admit this? Did the German imperialists openly declare and state to the workers and the youth: We are waging the war in order to take colonies away from France and England, and the Ukraine and Poland from Russia? Did the English imperialists declare to the English people and their youth that they were waging the war in order to smash their dangerous competitor—Germany—or that they wanted to wrest Mesopotamia and Palestine from Turkey? Did the French imperialists openly declare that they were waging the war because they wanted to seize from Germany the Saar district which is rich in coal and iron and reconquer Alsace-Lorraine which Germany had wrested from France in the war of 1870-71? No! The imperialists never wage war with their real aims inscribed on their banner. The history of all imperialist wars teaches the youth that the capitalists always concealed their war aims from the masses. Let us see the slogans under which the capitalists waged the first imperialist war.

"The bourgeoisie kept the preparations for imperialist war a profound secret from their people. When the war broke out each imperialist government endeavored to prove that it had not attacked its neighbors, but had been attacked by them. The bourgeoisie deceived the people, concealing the true aims of the war and its imperialist, annexationist character. Each imperialist government declared that it was waging war in defense of its country." *

* *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)*, pp. 161-162, International Publishers, New York.

This is how the imperialists deceived the people. But how did the leaders of the Second International act?

"The opportunists of the Second International helped the bourgeoisie to deceive the people. The Social-Democrats of the Second International vilely betrayed the cause of socialism, the cause of the international solidarity of the proletariat. Far from opposing the war, they assisted the bourgeoisie in inciting the workers and peasants of the belligerent countries against each other on the plea of defending the fatherland." *

This is how the social traitors deceived the working class and its youth.

It is in place now to remind the youth of today of the shameful, traitorous declaration of the German Social-Democratic Reichstag fraction of August 4, 1914. It states:

"Much if not everything is at stake for our people and its free future in a victory of Russian despotism which is stained with the blood of the best of its own people. This danger must be averted. The culture and independence of our country must be assured. *We thereby fulfil what we have always emphasized: In the hour of danger, we do not leave our own fatherland in the lurch. . . . Guided by these principles, we consent to the war credits that are demanded.*"

The French, English, Belgian and Austrian Social-Democratic leaders acted like the German Social-Democratic leaders. They voted millions to the imperialists for the conduct of the war and drove the workers and youth into the bloody steel bath under the slogan: defense of the fatherland. One month after the beginning of the war, on September 12, 1914, the central organ of the Social-Democratic youth of Germany, *Die Arbeiterjugend*, in an article entitled "To

* *Ibid.*, p. 162.

the Comrades at the Front!" appealed to the German youth:

"... Certainly when it is a question of defending our fatherland, the native land of our education and work, the proletariat hastens to the frontier just as the *burgher* and the prince, he gives his last drop of blood just as the beggar does."

The social traitors followed their imperialist masters through thick and thin. When the German imperialists invaded Belgium in 1914, Noske, Scheidemann and Ebert—the leaders of German Social-Democracy at that time—glorified this brutal step of German imperialism.

The youth paper of the German Social-Democratic Party, *Das Jungvolk* declared the following on this in 1915:

"... To penetrate France from Alsace is almost an impossibility since the entire stretch from Belfort up to Verdun is one continuous fortress. *Thus, the entry had to be made from the north. In doing this, Belgium's neutrality was broken—which was generally expected by friend and enemy alike.* However, Germany has not committed this injustice light-mindedly but under the compulsion of necessity."

During the World War of 1914-1918, the Social-Democratic leaders preached "civil peace" and endeavored to realize it by every means; they relinquished the struggle against their own capitalists. This same youth paper of the German Social-Democratic Party wrote the following in the same article on the necessity for civil peace:

"... Social-Democracy knew immediately what it had to do. In the hour of danger, its speakers in the Reichstag declared that it does not leave the fatherland in the lurch. *It postponed its struggles with its opponents inside the country until the enemies from without had been warded off. Without a strong Germany, there is no strong labor movement.*..."

That is how the imperialists lied in the period of the first imperialist war, that is how the leaders of the Second International lied and betrayed the interests of the working class.

Only Lenin and the Russian Bolsheviks conducted a stubborn and relentless struggle against the imperialist war and exposed the lies and the deceptions of the imperialists and their "Socialist" lackeys. Lenin enlightened the working class and its youth concerning the imperialist character of the war. He showed the true face of the Social-Democratic leaders, exposed them as the worst betrayers of the working class who had deserted to the camp of the imperialists. Lenin also showed the youth the road to the concrete struggle against the imperialist war. In his famous article "The Military Program of the Proletarian Revolution," in 1916, he coined the words which became famous among the youth:

"Nowadays social life is being wholly militarized. Imperialism is a fierce struggle of the Great Powers for the partition and repartition of the world—therefore, it must inevitably lead to further militarization in all countries, even in the neutral and small countries. What will the proletarian women do about it? Only curse all war and everything military? Only demand disarmament? Never will the women of an oppressed class that is really revolutionary agree to play such a shameful role. They will say to their sons: 'You will soon be big. You will be given a gun. Take it and learn to shoot. The proletarians need this knowledge—not to shoot your brothers, the workers of other countries, as they are doing in the present war, and as you are being advised to do by the traitors to socialism, but to fight the bourgeoisie of your own country, to put an end to exploitation, poverty and war, not by good intentions, but by defeating the bourgeoisie and disarming it.'"

The best section of the proletarian youth of many countries rallied around Lenin and the Russian Bolsheviks

in their struggle against imperialist war.

* * *

Twenty-five years have passed since the outbreak of the first imperialist war. The history of these twenty-five years, so rich in content, is the best textbook for the youth who must shed their blood in the present war. From this history they must draw the lessons for their struggle against imperialist war today. This history teaches the youth *that the policy of the social betrayers during the first imperialist war led to the saving of capitalism*. By their treacherous behavior, the leaders of the Second International saved and strengthened capitalism which had been shaken by the war, the same capitalism which today has again plunged the youth into war. The history of these twenty-five years teaches us *that the policy and the struggle of Lenin against the imperialist war have led to the destruction of capitalism and to the victory of the working class on one-sixth of the earth and to the construction of socialism*. It is of the utmost importance that the youth think thoroughly about these two roads and these two results. Learning from the history of these twenty-five years, the working class youth will achieve clarity on the real aims of the second imperialist war and will find the correct road of struggle.

If the working class and toiling youth look at the present war in the light of the history of these twenty-five years, so rich in content, if they look at the present-day lies of the German as well as the English and French imperialists and their "Socialist" lackeys, they will readily see that the "anti-fascism," under the flag of which Chamberlain, Daladier, Leon Blum, Chrochoy, Greenwood and Huddleston are waging the war, only serves to mask the real imperialist aims of the reactionary bourgeoisie. These grave-diggers of the Ethiopian, Austrian, Czech and Spanish people, praised by Chrochoy and Huddleston as "demo-

crats," have perpetrated the foulest betrayal of the interests of humanity.

They torpedoed the establishment of a peace front which the Soviet Union attempted to create and which the peoples and the youth of the entire world ardently demanded. The plan of these sham "anti-fascists" and "democrats" was to enhance their own power, which had been built up with the blood of the colonial peoples, by means of a war between the Soviet Union and Germany, so that they could oppress additional nations and crush the revolutionary labor movement. By means of this war, they strove to establish a regime of darkest reaction not only in their own countries but all over the world.

That was a vile and sinister conspiracy not only against the Soviet Union but also against the interests of the working class and the youth of the whole world.

Stalin, the great and wise leader of the world proletariat, has exposed and nullified this conspiracy of the imperialists against the Soviet Union and the international working class as well as all their previous attacks. *The conclusion of the non-aggression pact between the Soviet Union and Germany, insuring peace between the two countries, represents a tremendous victory not only for the Soviet Union but also for the cause of the working class of all countries*. The plan for a war against the Soviet Union was frustrated. But the imperialist contradictions between Germany on the one hand and France and England on the other continued to exist and were aggravated. These imperialist contradictions gained the upper hand. Both groups of imperialists are endeavoring to attain mastery over the capitalist world, both want to extend their domination. Both want to divide the world anew. When the English and French imperialists saw that they could not carry through their war plan against the Soviet Union with the aid of German imperialism, the situation changed fundamentally. German imperialism, which they had been

strengthening for years and which is striving for world domination, has become a serious menace to their imperialist interests. *This war arose as a result of this conflict of imperialist interests.*

That is the situation with regard to these "anti-fascists" and "democrats" and their alleged war against fascism.

And now let us throw light on the leaders of the Socialist Youth International.

One of their predecessors during the years of the first imperialist war, Dr. Danneberg, at that time Secretary of the International Bureau of the Socialist Youth Leagues, posted on the door of the Bureau, after the outbreak of the war, the famous notice which shows the shameful collapse of these "Socialists." This notice stated: *"The Bureau is closed on account of the declaration of war."* The Bureau was closed, the workers were driven to the front.

And what are the successors of Danneberg, the youngsters in the leadership of the Socialist Youth International, Chochoy, Godefroid, Huddleston and Ollenhauer doing now?

They have not closed their Bureau now. They have a lot of work now. Their masters, the English and French imperialists, demand a great deal of activity from them.

The entire leadership of the Socialist Youth International placed themselves unreservedly in the service of English and French imperialism. Their function is to drive the working class youth to slaughter in the interests of the imperialists. *Today, the Bureau of the Socialist Youth International has become an international center of lies and deception in the service of English and French imperialism, a center for slander against the Soviet Union.*

Mr. Chochoy, who is notorious for the cowardice which he displayed in such a classic manner in Spain, is now yelling himself hoarse, shouting: "Long live the war, the war must be carried to a victorious end." But this warmonger sang

a different tune when the possibility of a just war was on the order of business last year. At that time, he cried "Rather slavery than war!" because he was in a hurry to justify the Munich conspiracy before the working class youth of France. Now that the imperialist war is on, he has become a rabid warmonger and has joined Leon Blum and Paul Faure in driving the French youth to their graves in the interests of the capitalists and landowners of France and England.

And what is the situation with regard to Mr. Huddleston, the pupil of Greenwood, who has the task of holding the Labor Youth in check? A few months ago, this gentleman took the field against the courageous struggle waged by the Labor Youth against Chamberlain. He prepared charges on the "dangerous revolutionary" activity of the Labor Youth and submitted them to Greenwood. How is this gentleman, who displayed such great activity only a short time ago, acting today during the war? During the first few days after the outbreak of the war, the following telephone conversation took place between Comrade Mike Bennet, the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League of England and Mr. Huddleston:

"Hello, is this John Huddleston speaking?"

"Yes."

"Can you tell me what the Labor Youth League is doing in the present crisis?"

"What do you mean, what are we doing?"

"Well, what plans do you have?"

"We're having the Council meeting today. I can't say anything before this meeting is over. Call back later."

Later—

"Is this John Huddleston speaking?"

"Yes, the meeting isn't over yet. Call back later."

Later—

"May I speak to John Huddleston?"

"No, he doesn't seem to be here."

"Where is he?"

"He's gone on a vacation."

This is the real face of these war-mongers in the leadership of the Socialist Youth International. But, under the protection of their imperialists, these sorry figures become active fighters against the Soviet Union, against the Communists. Before, they lied to the youth saying that the Soviet Union, the Communists, want war and they themselves posed as angels of peace. But now that the Soviet Union, thanks to the brilliant peace policy of Stalin, has not allowed itself to be drawn into this war, now that the Communists are conducting a stubborn struggle against the imperialist war, they reproach us for our peace policy.

Let them keep on howling. Let them besmirch the Soviet Union for its peace policy, and the Communists, for their struggle against the war. The youth will see more and more clearly that they are war provocateurs, that they are the servants of the imperialists and the worst betrayers of the interests of the working class and its youth.

These war provocateurs in the leadership of the Socialist Youth International have dropped their masks. Now they stand exposed in all their nakedness before the Socialist youth of the entire world as traitors to the interests of the working class youth, as servants of the imperialists. There is no doubt that the Socialist youth will not long tolerate the shame of having such parasites and vicious enemies of the working class at the head of their organization. The Socialist youth will understand that they can wage a successful struggle against the imperialist war only when they carry on, at the same time, the sharpest fight against these agents of imperialism inside the ranks of the working class youth.

Capitalism and its "Socialist" servants have perpetrated a terrible crime against the working class and toiling youth. *Capitalism*, which has condemned the war and post-war generations to a life

of slavery from earliest childhood and has blocked their road to a bright and happy future, *has become the murderer of this generation.* The suffering endured by the working class and toiling youth of the capitalist countries teaches us *that if the youth is to live, capitalism must die.*

Only when this torturer and blood-sucker, the destroyer of the ideals of the youth, shall have died, will a bright and happy future open up before the working class and toiling youth of the capitalist countries. The glorious example of the great land of socialism—the Soviet Union—enables the youth of the capitalist countries to convince themselves more than ever that socialism, socialist society, is the land of youth which assures them creative work, peace and advancement, which makes possible an unlimited development of technique and science for the benefit of the peoples and their youth. In place of capitalism which enslaved the youth and threw them into imperialist war, the youth should come out on the side of the working class and, as a result of this war, win for themselves this land of youth.

In this second imperialist war, just as in the years 1914-1918, the Social-Democratic leaders are on the side of imperialism.

In this second imperialist war, just as in the years 1914-1918, when Lenin courageously fought against the imperialist war and led the working class in tsarist Russia to victory, the revolutionary working class led by the world Communist Party—the Communist International—together with its faithful assistant, the Communist Youth International, is fighting against the imperialist war, against capitalism. The Communists and Young Communists in the capitalist countries are following the path of Lenin and Stalin. *This is the path of victory over the imperialist war, over capitalism.*

The working class youth today is confronted by imperialist war. It is therefore the duty of the working class youth in this war to work *against* the victory

of either imperialist side. *From this world conflagration, which capitalism has kindled, it is the working class, the peasantry, the enslaved youth and not the bourgeoisie that must emerge as the victor.* The imperialists of both sides, those responsible for the tragedy of the working class youth, are calling them to shoulder arms today. The reply of the working class youth to this call can only be: *"Down with the imperialist war!"* Yes, it is the great historic task of the working class youth to wage the sharpest struggle everywhere and by every means against the imperialist war. No support, not a cent for this war!

It is now the task of the working class youth everywhere to carry through a great work of enlightenment concerning the true character of the war. The task now is to bring clarity into the minds of

the working class youth and to kindle in their hearts hatred for those responsible for this imperialist war. From thees young workers who learn the truth concerning the aims of the war, and whose hearts are ablaze with hatred for the imperialist war, will arise that unbreakable front of the working class youth who will fight heroically in the front ranks, side by side with the working class in the storming of imperialism.

Let the working class youth in every country rally around the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, around the Communist Party and the Young Communist League which are following the fighting path of Lenin and Stalin, which are courageously conducting the struggle against the imperialist war and capitalism.

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